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GREEN LETTER

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WAR

&

consequences for
the environment
& social justice



RESISTANCE

A letter from Green Letter:

As we go to press, Bush and the U.S. military seem determined to wipe Iraq off the face of the earth. Meanwhile, Soviet and Third World non-aligned diplomats are working feverishly to stop the carnage and insensate destruction of the Iraqi people, their homeland and civilization.

The GL Collective condemns Saddam Hussein's aggression, historically directed against his own people. We condemn his aggression against the people of Kuwait, and the bombing of Israeli civilians.

We condemn Israeli imposition of a curfew on Palestinians and Israeli bombing of Lebanon.

We equally condemn the U.S. government's continued aggression, lies and hypocrisy in both foreign and domestic policies. Why are we attacking Saddam Hussein for the invasion of a sovereign nation, when the U.S. was founded on stolen land and has continued to violate treaty rights of indigenous peoples? Recently, the U.S. invaded Panama and Grenada, supported the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and stood back while the Soviet Union invaded Lithuania. One banner seen at an anti-war march read, "Both Sides Can Be Wrong."

Many of us who have been working for ecological restoration, fighting racism, and struggling for human rights, now find ourselves forced to devote significant energies trying to stop an unjust, dangerous and costly war.

We at GL face the same feelings of urgency. The S & L scandal has been forgotten. Hunger and homelessness go unaddressed. The threat to coastal areas, wetlands, and forests, and all the other problems, have been swept off the front pages.

In our coverage of The War, we tried to remember the many wars—against the disenfranchised and the earth. What's more, we have tried to make explicit the connections between them.

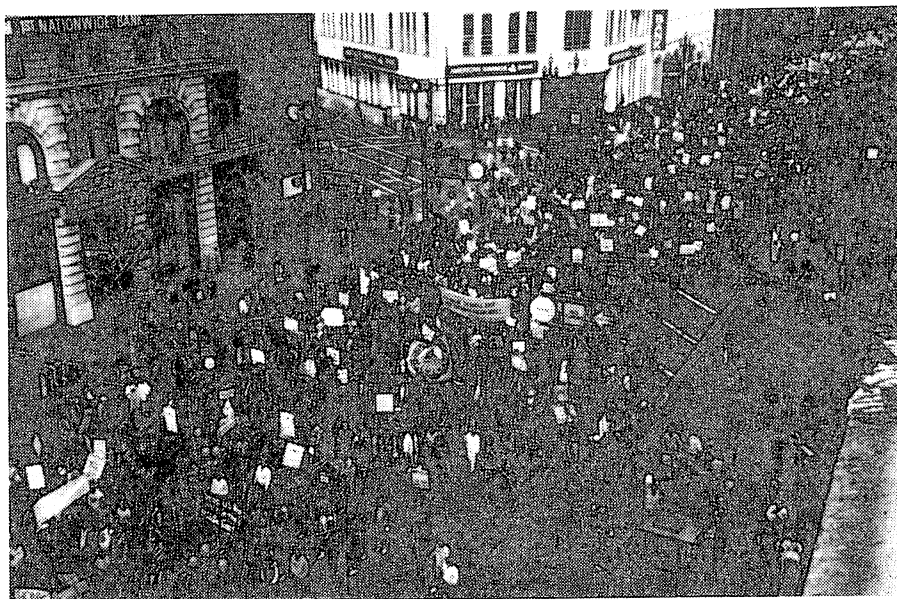
Choosing which articles to print is always a difficult task for the Collective and this issue was no easier. The lead piece by the Political Ecology Group (PEG) has been edited for space constraints (we encourage our readers to get the complete text, circulate it and discuss it).

The domestic implications of giving budget priority to the Gulf War are covered in Victor Lewis, Roberto Mendoza, Karl Guevara Erb and September Jarrett's articles.

Repression breeds resistance, and we bring news of resistance taking place on many levels throughout the world. We have compiled a partial list of international, national and green activities. There is a new national student alliance, a Gulf Peace Camp, proposals to impeach Bush and strategies for dealing with the media. We have also included an extremely shortened version of an international environmental call. We hope people will send for the entire text and circulate it for signatures.

We have inevitably left out more than we have covered in this issue.

We have not attempted to address the rich and complex history



of the Mid-East nor U.S. involvement in shaping that history. GL believes linking the occupations of the West Bank and Gaza and the occupation of Kuwait is central to reaching a broad peace perspective for the region. Although the historical situations of the two occupations are extremely different, oppression is oppression.

Control of oil is at the center of this war, yet there are virtually no voices challenging the use of oil in the first place. No matter who burns it, oil becomes carcinogenic and depletes the ozone layer. We need to ask fundamental questions about the modern industrial system of production which is dependent on oil. We believe there are alternatives.

We must also ask how to convert our economic system from one which profits a few large corporations, dependent on military spending, to a system which honors life and meets the needs of the citizenry.

The end of the cold war ushers in a new and highly unstable international situation. The dominant military power—the U.S.—is no longer the obviously dominant economic power, and Japan and Germany are no longer dependent on U.S. military protection from "Communism." Previously during the twentieth century, major wars have erupted precisely during such periods when a number of capitalist nations vied for economic supremacy.

The U.S. is likely to become more violent, *more dangerous*, as it struggles to maintain its international dominance. It is up to us to challenge this violence and dominance. We must develop our movements, weaving the web of connections between all of us struggling for peace and justice, for a sustainable future.

Tired of Censored News?

Information censorship
Reporters and photographers covering the gulf war from Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Israel and Turkey are subject to government censorship and restricted access to news sources. All stories from pool reporters with allied forces have been approved by the military.

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GREEN LETTER



Green Letter is an educational forum, published quarterly, covering the Green Movement. It is a project of the Tides Foundation.

The Green Committees of Correspondence is a network of local organizing groups throughout the United States. GCoC uses *GL* as a vehicle to disseminate Green news.

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Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinions of *GL*.

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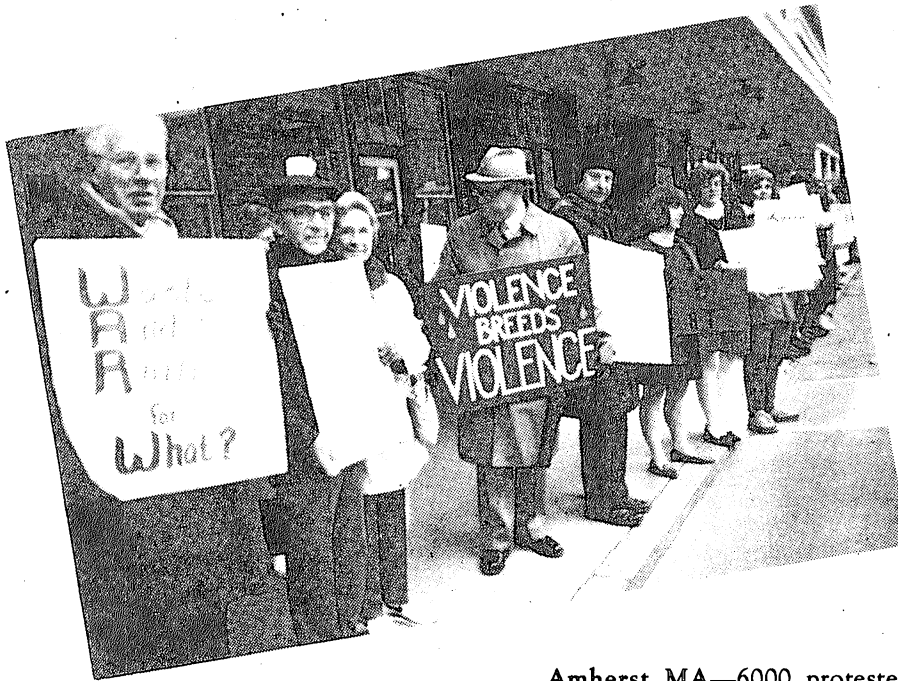
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RESIST



The days around the start of the war saw a surge of protest across the country. In every region, from the largest to the smallest towns, people marched, vigiled, sat-in, sang, blocked traffic....

Building on this local activism, national groups such as ACT-UP and the Pledge of Resistance organized protests in the weeks before the war. These culminated in direct action at federal buildings across the country on January 15, and laid the groundwork for the marches and protests that followed the outbreak of war. Broad-based national coalitions organized marches in Washington DC and San Francisco on January 19 and 26, each of which drew over 100,000 people.

The pro-government bias of the corporate media has made honest reports of anti-war protest difficult to find. Here are actions we at *Green Letter* heard about in the days around the start of the war.

(Note: the bombing of Iraq was announced Jan 16 ca 7pm EST. Jan 17 was the first full day following the outbreak of war.)

Albany NY—Jan 16, high school students walk out of class in protest of war. Jan 17, over 1000 people marched from the Capitol to the Federal building. Later, 13 people did civil disobedience by blocking traffic.

Amherst MA—6000 protested at Westover AFB the day before the war began, with over 60 arrests. The next day, 70 junior and high school students walked out. 15 were arrested. Jan 17, 50 activists tried to close Calvin Coolidge Bridge in Northampton at 7 am.

Austin TX—Jan 16, 5000 attended an anti-war vigil. The next day, protesters blocked traffic, and two high schools walked out. 5000 spent the night and the next day at the capital, and 26 were arrested.

Bellingham WA—Jan 14, 500 people protested at Federal Building, 21 arrested. Jan 17, Federal Building shut down, 89 arrested.

Berkeley/Oakland CA—Jan 14, 2000 protesters including many UC-Berkeley students closed Interstate 80. A similar crowd briefly closed the freeway the night after the war started, before CHP officers forcibly reopened the road.

Bloomington IN—Jan 19, 90 people, many from Indiana University, were arrested for peacefully blocking a military recruiting station. Students set up a tent city on campus to protest the war.

Boston MA—several thousand protested and staged a teach-in in the days before the war began. On Jan 16, hundreds disrupted downtown traffic, with 70 arrests. On Jan 17, 2500 people blocked the Federal Building. 100 were arrested.

Burlington VT—400 people marched the day before the war.

Cleveland OH—1000 people blocked traffic and protested at British Petroleum the day before the war began. Jan 26, over 600 people travelled to Washington DC for the National march.

Chicago IL—Jan 14, 5000 people blockaded Federal Building, with 150 arrests, including many students. On the day the war began, 1000 marched, with 100 arrests. Jan 17, 4500 protested at the Federal Building and occupied a freeway.

Cincinnati OH—4000 students demonstrated the day before the war. Cincinnati also sent 8 buses and a van to Washington for the Jan. 26th march.

Concord NH—hundreds of high school students responded to the outbreak of war by marching out of their classes.

Dallas TX—Jan 26, 350 people gathered at the Kennedy Memorial Plaza. Earlier, high school students walked out of classes.

Detroit MI—Jan 13, black community churches held anti-war meetings. Jan 14, 15 arrests at picket of military induction center. Jan 18, National Guard called in to protect tunnels against blockaders. And at least 11 busloads of people went to the Jan 26 march in Washington DC.

Eugene OR—protesters closed highway I-5 near Eugene on Jan 15.

Gainesville FL—Jan 12, 2000 march and rally. Jan 16, 700 attend speakout; 200 rallied at Federal Building, and 15 blockaded the entrance. No arrests. Jan 18, on third day of blockade, 11 arrested at Federal Building.

Greensburg PA—150 high school students were suspended for leaving class to protest the school's apathy over the Gulf crisis.

Iowa City IA—Jan 19, 600 people attended an anti-war rally. Largest local action so far.

Jackson MI—Jan 14, 4000 Mississippi State students protested.

Knoxville TN—Jan 19, 13 arrests at Senator Al Gore's office, with over 100 supporters. And over 150 people travelled to Washington DC for the Jan 26 march. A

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favorite song, to the tune of "Study War No More," was "We ain't gonna vote for Gore no more," in protest of his support of Bush's war.

Long Island NY—250 high school students walked out of class two days before the war began.

Los Angeles CA—Jan 15, 4000 demonstrate at Federal Building. Hundreds of high school students marched out of class on the day after the war began. Other protesters shut down the local Federal Building that morning, and blocked rush hour traffic in the evening. Over 150 people were arrested. Jan 17, 1200 rally at UCLA. 300 occupied a hall overnight, with 100 arrests.

Louisville KY—Jan 14, hundreds attended 24 hour vigil at War Memorial.

Madison WI—Jan 17, protesters disrupted a basketball game and sportscable broadcast, with 50 arrested. 2000 protesters stopped rush hour traffic downtown.

Maine—6 busloads of people from Bangor, Waterville and Augusta areas attended the Jan 26 march in Washington DC.

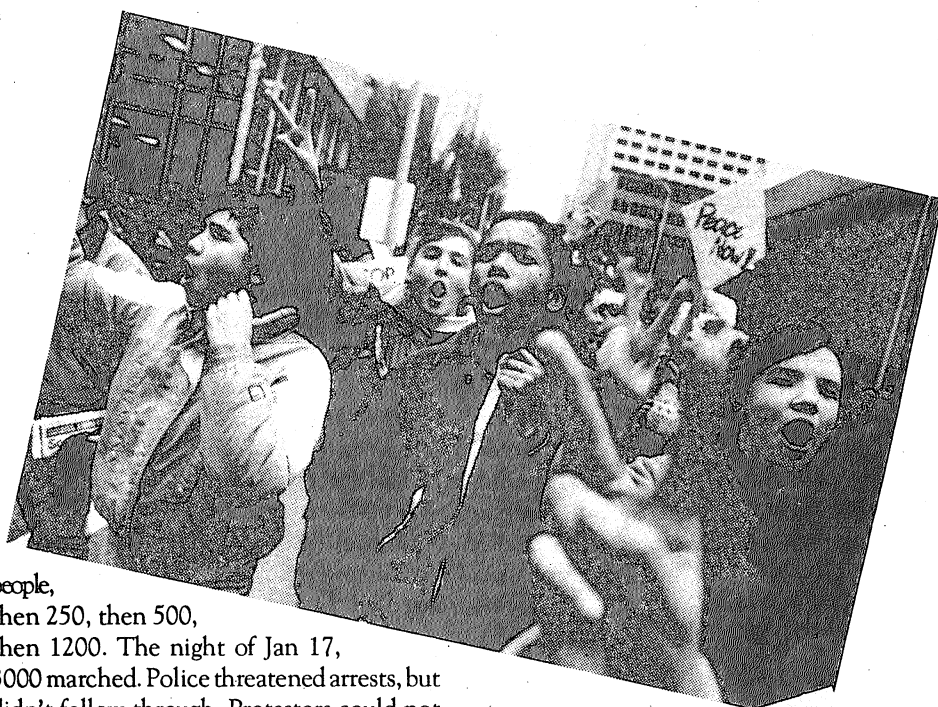
Missoula MT—Jan 18, dozens of young activists staged a die-in at basketball game. (See also page 34)

New Orleans LA—The Progressive Student Union sponsored a series of marches in the days before the war. The first had 150

people, then 250, then 500, then 1200. The night of Jan 17, 3000 marched. Police threatened arrests, but didn't follow through. Protestors could not be kept on the sidewalks.

New York NY—AIDS activists from ACT-UP disrupted the news broadcasts of Dan Rather (CBS) and MacNeil-Lehrer (PBS), two days after the war began. Protesters demanded more coverage of AIDS, which will kill far

continued next page



Photos: upper left, vigil in Virginia, by Susan Anderson; upper right, Seattle students leave school to protest, by Dana Shuerholz; two lower right, January 26 march in Washington DC, by Alyx Perry

More resistance news and photos pages 30-35

RESISTANCE

more people than the exhaustively-covered Middle East war. Jan 16, several thousand marched through the city and blocked traffic. Jan 17, 300 protesters attempted to block the Brooklyn Bridge, while 5000 demonstrated at various sites.

Olympia WA—Jan 15, 1500 students marched on capital building. 100 demonstrators occupied the state House of Representatives chambers overnight, demanding that the state government actively oppose the war. Jan 16, 1000 protesters blocked traffic. Jan 17, Federal Building blockaded.

Pittsburgh PA—Jan 17, 500 people blockaded the Federal Building. 11 arrests.

Portland OR—Jan 15, 2000 people vigiled, and demonstrators briefly closed a bridge over the Willamette River. Junior High and High School students protested Jan 15. Jan 16 and 17, thousands rallied against the war.

Rockport TX—two dozen middle and high school students were reportedly arrested after walking out of class in protest of the outbreak of war.

Sacramento CA—Jan 19, 3000 march against the war.

San Diego CA—Jan 14, 10,000 demonstrate citywide. Jan 19, sleep-in at the UCSD library.

San Jose CA—Jan 19, encampment at Federal Building.

San Francisco CA—on the day before the war began, 5000 demonstrators shut the Federal Building for the entire day, and closed the Bay Bridge for two hours; over 600 were arrested. The night the war broke out, 25,000 marched through the city, disrupting traffic and again closing the Bay Bridge. The next day, over 1000 were arrested at the Bay Bridge, the Federal Building and the Pacific Stock Exchange in the largest one-day arrest of protesters in the city's history. 2000 arrests were recorded in the first week after the war began.

San Francisco/Regional—Over 100,000 people marched on Jan 19 and again on Jan 26 in coalition-sponsored demonstrations. The marches were the largest since 1971.

Santa Barbara CA—Jan 15, over 500 students protested UC ties to national weapons labs; 198 were arrested. Jan 17, over 4000 people gathered for a rally and speak-out. 2000 people marched through campus and disrupted classes.

Santa Cruz CA—several thousand demonstrators closed Highway 17 for an hour the night the war broke out.

Seattle WA—Jan 14, over 30,000 demonstrate, blockading highway I-5 and ending in a rally at the Federal Building. 36 arrests. Jan 16, several hundred camp at Federal Building. Jan 17, thousands close Federal Building; over 20 arrests. Jan 19, 40,000 march against the war.

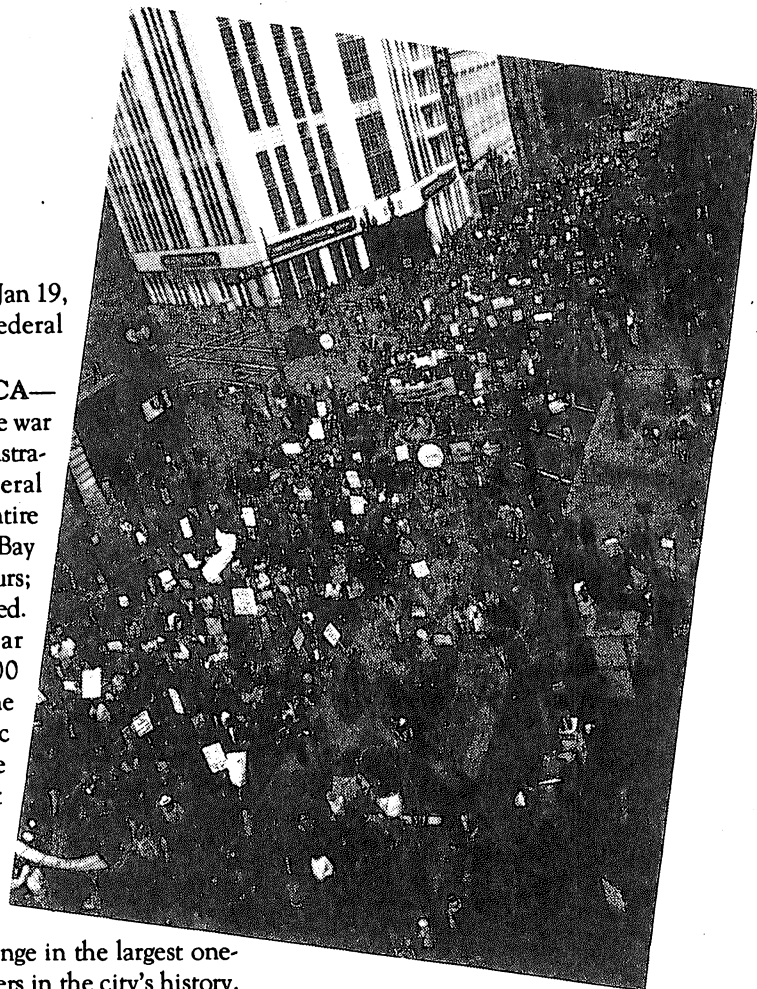
Springfield MO—Jan 16, upon hearing that the U.S. had attacked Iraq, one man stopped his car in a busy intersection of this very conservative city, got out and sat on top of it, and refused to move until he was arrested. He reportedly spent at least the next few days in jail.

St Louis MO—Jan 16, 700 rally an hour after war begins. Jan 17, 23 arrested blockading Federal Building.

Syracuse NY—Jan 18, students occupied federal building. Ten arrested.

Strangeville USA—Donnie Wahlberg, singer for the political rock band "New Kids on the Block," appeared on ABC-TV wearing a T-shirt declaring "War Sucks."

Tallahassee FL—Over 100 arrests weekly during December and January at the Vietnam Memorial. Jan 14, 2000 march on the capital.



RESISTANCE

Washington DC—Jan 14, 7000 march on White House for rally. Jan 15, 1200 vigil at White House; dozens arrested. Jan 16, 3000 demonstrators marched around DC and later clashed with mounted riot police outside the White House. Jan 16, 3000 protest, 15 arrested. Jan 19 and 26, over 100,000 marched on White House as part of national protests against the war. And a 24-hour drum-in for peace at Lafayette Park, across from the White House, reportedly was keeping Bush awake at night.

West Hartford CN—Jan 16, high school students plan a walk-out on Friday to the Town Hall.

See pages 30-35 for more resistance news and photos

(Compiled by George Franklin. Thanks to Peacenet, Greenpeace, New Liberation News Service and Food Not Bombs for reports—and thanks to all the photographers who rushed us prints from around the country!)



Photos, clockwise from lower left: Queer Nation protests in San Francisco, photo by Octavia Morgan; January 26 march, San Francisco, Octavia Morgan; San Francisco cops mace protesters January 15, Keith Holmes

Protesters Injured Blocking Bridges, Highways

With the outbreak of war, demonstrators across the country escalated their nonviolent tactics to include blocking major highways and bridges. Stopping "business as usual" drew major public and media attention to the outrage many of us felt as the U.S. government launched the most devastating bombing campaign in the history of human warfare.

Nevertheless, it is important to note the high incidence of injury to protesters and to challenge activists to consider safety as well as disruption in initiating such actions.

Brooklyn Bridge—several people seriously injured by a drunk driver and by falling off of the Bridge in the ensuing melee.

Santa Cruz—two protesters on Highway 17 were hit by a car.

Berkeley—one high-speed accident which miraculously hurt no one (probably a drunk driver, according to eyewitnesses);

and several serious injuries when state police panicked and assaulted protesters.

San Francisco—several people hospi-

talized when state police attacked protesters blocking the Bay Bridge and Highway 101.



Injured protester on Brooklyn Bridge. Photo by David Sorcher.

Millions Protest

There are currently 483,000 U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf region, and U.S. officials predict that this number will grow to over 500,000. U.S. forces in Vietnam did not reach this level until the height of the war in 1968.

The world-wide anti-war movement is equally accelerated. After several years of building anti-war sentiment, on November 15, 1969, more than half a million people came to Washington for the biggest anti-war demonstration in U.S. history. In the first week of Gulf War protests, over 250,000 people came out against the war in the United States, another 2.5 million overseas in 38 countries.

The largest anti-war protests have been in Italy, France and Australia, but their South Africa to Hong Kong, and even

been in Algeria, Germany, Spain, have been anti-war protests from in Israel.

* **Algeria:** Over 500,000 people protested against U.S.-led strikes on Iraq. 5000

doctors and nurses from Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, Yemen and Sudan are trying to enter Iraq via Iran, bringing blood and plasma.

* **Argentina:** On January 24, 5-10,000 protesters gathered outside parliament to protest their country's involvement in the war as representatives voted to allow navy support for the allied forces in the Gulf.

* **Australia:** News of the war brought Australians out on the streets in Sydney and Melbourne, blocking traffic. On January 19, there were large demonstrations in all major cities. In Sydney 60,000 marched from the U.S. Consulate to the Israeli Consulate and from there to the Town Hall. The action linked a call for a cease fire in the Middle East with marking 'Invasion Day' of Koori land. 15,000 protested in Adelaide, and 3,000 in Perth and Brisbane. Constant vigils have been maintained in Sydney and Melbourne, where on Jan. 26, over 20,000 people came out to cram city square and block Swanston Street. This is the biggest peace movement in Australia since the Vietnam protests.

* **Austria:** 15,000 people have protested in cities throughout the country since hostilities began. The Austrian Students Union declared a resolution against the war.



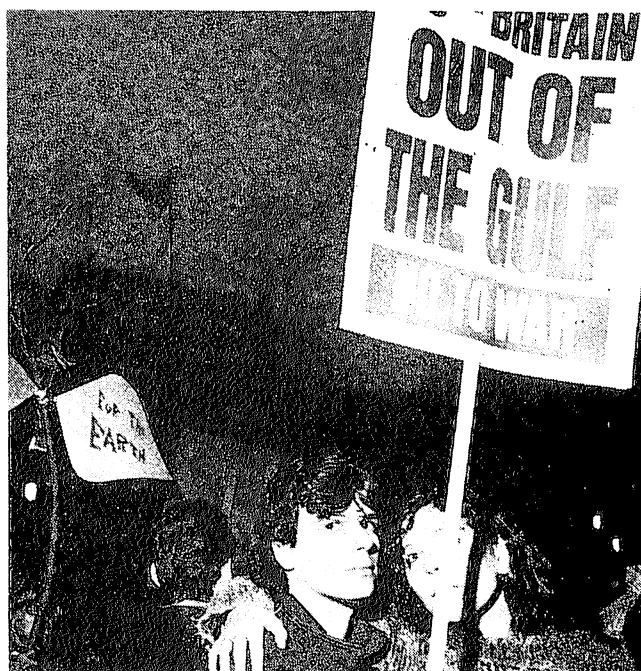
* **Bangladesh:** 500,000 Moslems, gathering after the Haj pilgrimage, voiced support for Saddam Hussein. Students in Dacca staged a peace protest which drew 3,000 supporters on the January 24.

* **Belgium:** About 30,000 people demonstrated in Brussels on January 20 to demand the withdrawal of Belgian support for the war. The Coalition to Prevent War in the Middle East has held vigils at the U.S. and Iraqi Embassies.

* **Brazil:** 2,000 anti-war protesters gathered in Sao Paulo to protest the war.

* **Britain:** The night the UN deadline expired, 5,000 marched down Whitehall to hold a "people's assembly" against the Gulf War in Parliament Square. On the 19th, large demonstrations were held in London, Oxford, Brighton, Leeds, and York. An estimated 10,000 demonstrated in Glasgow. "There may be a thief in Baghdad, but war is not the way to get him to surrender his booty," the Roman Catholic archbishop of Glasgow, Thomas Winning, told the Scots.

* **Canada:** A national day of women's protest was held on the 18th in Canada. Thousands of Canadians across the country braved frigid temperatures on January 26 to protest the war and the damaging environmental effects of the oil spill. The largest demonstra-



Top: Germany, "In War There Is Only One Winner: Death", photo by T. Heimann; Bottom: Great Britain, by K. Logan

continued on page 32

"New World Order"

A United Germany Says No To War

The recently re-united Germany is possibly the largest center of dissent against the post Cold War "New World Order." The German public remains overwhelmingly opposed to German participation in the war against Iraq. According to a report in the

Washington Post, the editor of the influential newspaper Die Zeit, wrote last week that the war "turns out to be a last, almost spastic twitching of U.S. supremacy which resurrects the reflexes of the Cold War."

Hundreds of thousands have protested

across the country since the war began, expressing anti-war, anti-German involvement, and some anti-American sentiment. In Berlin, on the day the war started, 150,000 people protested. On January 18, again in Berlin, more than 10,000 school children



Over 30,000 Berlin high school students have boycotted classes and taken to the streets to protest the Gulf War. Banner reads: "Life is too short for war." Photo by Andre Kaiser.

Despite SCUDs, Israelis Protest

Facing Iraqi SCUD missile attacks and the threat of poison gas has created a difficult environment for dissent against Israel's increasingly far right government. As the ruling coalition admits to its ranks a party dedicated to the complete, forcible expulsion of all Palestinians from the West Bank, those who raise their voices for peaceful solutions need our support more than ever. Amidst war, their protests continue.

Several hundred people took part in demonstrations sponsored by the Women and Peace Coalition in Israel in front of the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv, the U.S. Navy Liaison office in Haifa and the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem January 14. Slogans included "Iraq Must Withdraw From Kuwait—Israel Must Withdraw From the Occupied Territories"

and "International [Middle East Peace] Conference Now!" That night, at a public meeting in Tel Aviv, a petition was signed by prominent Israelis which stated, "We call upon the government... to declare its willingness to accept a comprehensive regional peace agreement including: making the Middle East a zone free of atomic, chemical and bacteriological weapons; a peace agreement between Israel and Jordan, Syria and Iraq; and an Israeli-Palestinian peace; all based upon recognition of the right of all peoples—including the Israeli, Palestinian and Kuwaiti peoples—to a state, to security and to peace."

On January 25, with gas masks strapped

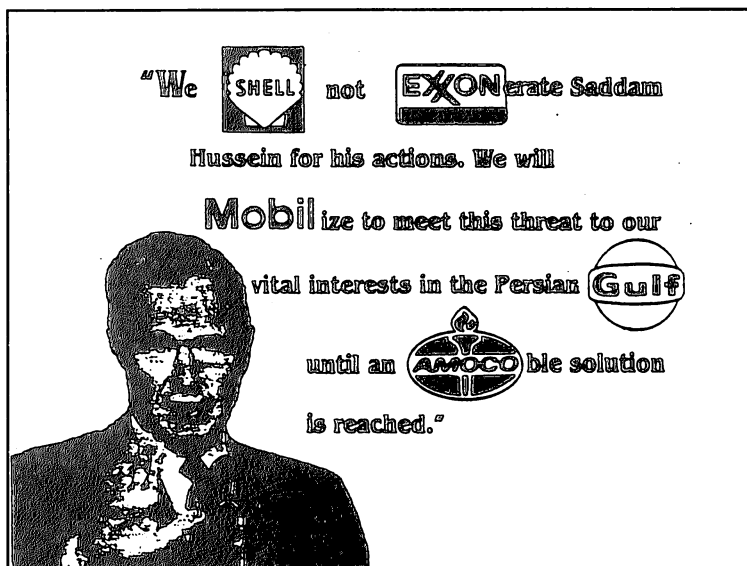
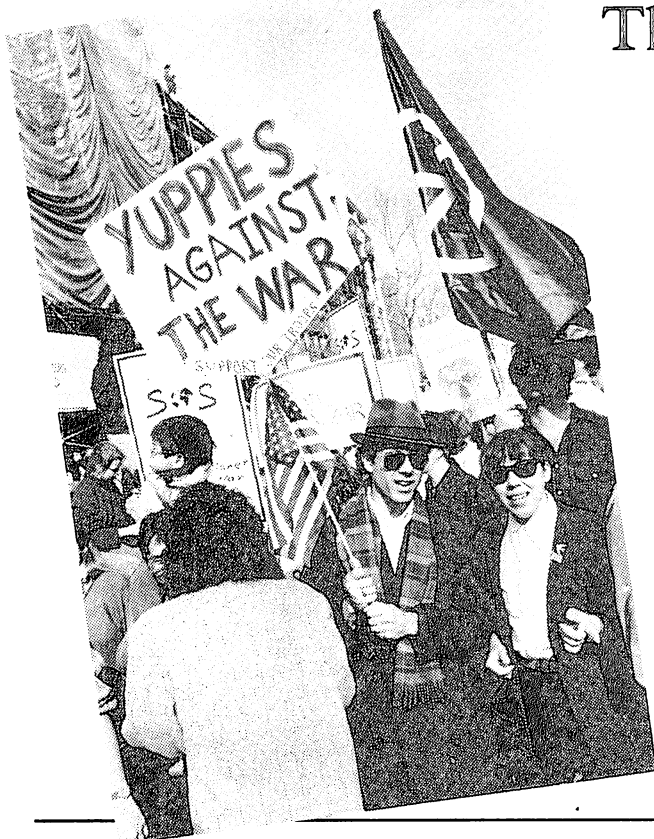
with candles crammed the main shopping avenue, bringing traffic to a standstill.

Blockades have been erected on streets, roads, and at airports to draw attention to the war. On January 19 an estimated quarter of a million Germans, many chanting "No Blood For Oil," rallied in more than 100 cities and towns nationwide. Police said more than 30,000 took to the streets of Berlin. Demonstrators rolled barrels of paint from the Iraqi diplomatic mission to U.S. army headquarters, leaving a blood-red trail between the two buildings. In Munich, demonstrators met in a city square dedicated to the victims of Nazism. Protesters in Dortmund held hands to form a human peace chain over half a mile long. Groups in Bonn gathered outside the U.S. and Iraqi Embas-

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continued on page 33

The Miracle of Fax



If these yuppies ever got to work, perhaps they were greeted with a copy of this flyer, which appeared around the beginning of the war. We're not sure where it originated, but within hours it had been faxed around the globe. Photo by Keith Holmes.

An International Environmental Call to Action

We oppose innocent lives unjustly being sacrificed to establish the beachhead for a "New World Order" based on military intervention to control access to oil and other natural resources in the Third World.

As we condemn international support for governments that violate human rights, we also condemn the use of military force to settle disputes. Therefore, we condemn both the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the massive offensive military buildup in Saudi Arabia by the US and others under the aegis of the United Nations.

Recent experiences in Vietnam, Central America, Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq war all clearly point to the grave consequences of military build-up and warfare—consequences that will affect people and the environment that sustains them for generations.

We are deeply concerned by the immediate and long-term environmental and human health implications of the use of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. We are also concerned by the potential social and environmental catastrophe that would result from the bombing of chemical weapons fa-

cilities, oil drilling platforms and refineries and nuclear-powered ships bearing nuclear arms. Furthermore, the targeting of water resources, whether it be the destruction of dams, dikes, wells, marshland, oases or irrigated agricultural systems, would have profound impacts on the Persian Gulf's ecological stability, most directly affecting the rural populations of the area. The devastation of

the land, and the subsequent creation of millions of refugees are inevitable consequences of a full-scale war in the Persian Gulf.

For the complete text and more information, contact: Global Alliance for Peace in the Persian Gulf, 942 Market Street, Ste 202, San Francisco, CA 94102; (415) 397-1452.

Convenors

Carl Anthony (Urban Habitat*); Peter Bahouth (Greenpeace US), Judi Bari (Earth First!), Walden Bello (Inst. for Food and Development Policy); Brent Blackwelder (Friends of the Earth/ US); Saul Bloom & John Miller (Arms Control Research Center); China Brotsky, Joshua Karliner and Nancy Netherland (Political Ecology Group); David Brower (Earth Island Institute); Lorenzo Cardenal (Nicaraguan Environmental Movement); Herb Chao Gunther (Public Media Center); Randall Hayes (Rainforest Action Network); Nicholas Hilyard, Larry Lohnamm, Pam Simmons & Patrick McCully (The Ecologist Magazine, Great Britain); Elizabeth Ising (Student Environmental Action Coalition); Ruth Kaplan (Environmental Action); Jane McAlevey (Environmental Project on Central America); S.M. Mohid Idris (Third World Network, Malaysia); Juliette Majot (International Rivers Network); Ross Mirkarimi (IWG/US Greens); Monica Moore (Pesticide Action Network*); Richard Moore (SouthWest Organizing Project); John O'Connor (National Toxics Campaign); Charles Scheiner (North Atlantic Network).

*Organizations listed for identification purposes only

"High Crimes and Misdemeanors"

The following text, from Henry B. Gonzalez' speech to the U.S. House introducing an impeachment resolution, was included in an article in the The Austin Chronicle, 1-25-91.

Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness, yet with great conviction, that I introduce today a Resolution of Impeachment of President Bush.... When I took the oath of office earlier this month, as I had numerous times before, I swore to uphold the Constitution. The President's oath was the same—to uphold the Constitution of the United States. We did not pledge an oath of allegiance to the President, but to the Constitution, which

is the highest law of the land. The Constitution provides for removal of the President when he has committed high crimes and misdemeanors, including violations of the principles of the Constitution. President Bush has violated these principles.

My resolution has five articles of impeachment. First, the president has violated the equal protection clause of the Constitution. Our soldiers in the Middle East are overwhelmingly poor white, black, and Mexican-American. They may be volunteers, technically, but their volunteerism is based on the coercion of a system that has denied viable economic opportunities to these classes of citizens. Under the Constitution,

all classes of citizens are guaranteed equal protection and calling on the poor and minorities to fight a war for oil to preserve the lifestyles of the wealthy is a denial of the rights of these soldiers.

Article II states that the President has

violated the Constitution, federal law and the United Nations Charter by bribing, intimidating and threatening others, including the members of the United Nations security Council, to support belligerent acts against Iraq....

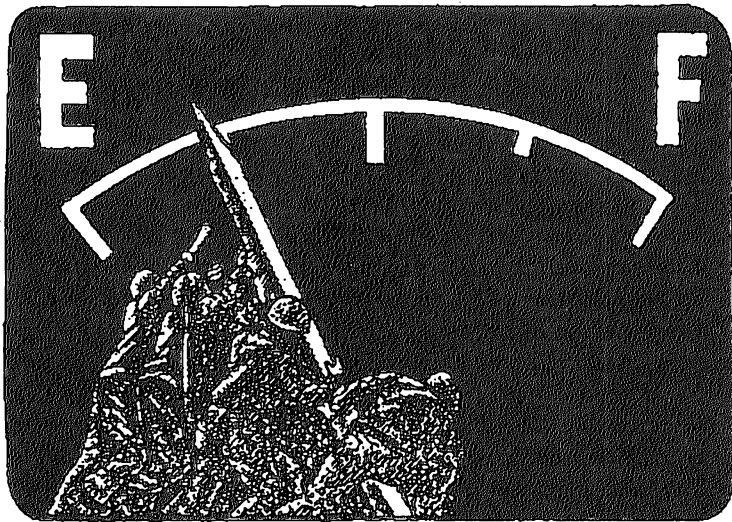
Article III states that the President has conspired to engage in a massive war against Iraq, employing methods of mass destruction that will result in the killing of tens of thousands of civilians, many of whom will be children.... As killings occur, the principles laid down in the Nuremberg trials will be applicable. Their deaths will not only be a moral outrage, but they will constitute a violation of international law.

Article IV states that the President has committed the United States to acts of war without congressional consent and contrary to the United Nations Charter and international law. From August, 1990 through January 1991, the President embarked on a course of action that systematically eliminated every option for a peaceful resolution of the Persian Gulf crisis....

Article V states that the President has conspired to commit crimes against the peace by leading the United States into aggressive war against Iraq in violation of Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter, the Nuremberg Charter, other international instruments and treaties, and the Constitution of the United States. Again, this is a violation of law by a President who, believing he is king, decides for the country—unilaterally—that war is the answer.

"Mr. Speaker, it is a sad day for our country, and it will be an even sadder day once the fighting begins. President Bush must be stopped. A divided Congress, reflecting a divided country, is no way to conduct a war. The preservation of lives is at stake, and the preservation of our country—our democracy—is at stake as well. I urge my colleagues to support this Resolution, and stand up to the President on behalf of the soldiers who will die, the civilians who will be massacred, and the Constitution that will be destroyed if this country goes to war in the Middle East.

Representative Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas may be reached at 202/229-6195.



The Peace Team In the Desert

A non-aligned, multi-national group calling themselves the Gulf Peace Team set up an encampment on the Iraqi-Saudi border on December 24. Since its inception it was inhabited by 150 citizens representing 16 nations. They are an entirely independent group of people being sponsored by no organization and looking for support from any source provided no political strings are attached.

As a team they do not side with either party fighting in the area, neither of whom they feel is free of blame. Their presence in the area is in recognition of the intense suffering, death and environmental devastation that is occurring in the region as the war escalates. They consider any non-violent

action to prevent these catastrophes to be of the utmost importance.

The Gulf Peace Team remained in the encampment for ten days until they were removed by Iraqi soldiers and taken to Bagdad on January 27. From there they were taken to Amman, Jordan where they will meet with other members of the Team to determine what the next form of action to take.

They have already succeeded in strengthening opposition to the conflict and have witnessed first-hand the environmental and human consequences of the violence. Some of the members will be returning to their homes and sharing their experiences with the global community. □

WAR IN THE GULF

An Environmental Perspective

Joshua Karliner, China Brotsky, Tom Lent with Nancy Netherland

The war in the Persian Gulf marks a critical juncture for the environmental movement. We can either remain silent while a massive social and environmental tragedy unfolds, or we can question the premises and consequences of that "way of life" for which 400,000 young Americans have been sent overseas to kill and die. We can either define ourselves as a single issue movement or we can recognize that environmental questions in the Gulf and here at home are intertwined with those of peace, social justice, and human survival.

The targeting of Iraq's plentiful water resources, whether through the destruction of dams, dikes, wells, marshlands or irrigated agricultural systems, would have profound impacts on the Persian Gulf's ecological stability, most directly affecting the rural populations of the area. The devastation of the land, and the subsequent creation of at least a million refugees, are inevitable consequences of a full-scale war in the Gulf.

As the U.S. wages war in the Gulf, our government is once again, as in Vietnam, destroying a region in order to "save" it. Then the United States was destroying the country supposedly to save it from communism. Now, with the cold war behind us, the U.S. has responded to Saddam Hussein's

naked aggression against Kuwait with naked avarice. Our country is going to war to reinstall the non-democratic government of an oil rich elite and to fight against a repressive ruler whom, like Noriega, our government helped arm and support for years.

By defining the U.S. role in the "New World Order" as one of global police force, President Bush is charting a course for America and the rest of the world. This course is based on U.S. military intervention to control access to oil and other natural resources in the Third World.

The Gulf war is the culmination of more than a decade of government energy policies that have consistently undermined efforts to promote efficiency and renewable alternatives to oil. The war is being used to give a powerful new boost to efforts to exploit oil and other natural resources in native lands and ecologically fragile wilderness areas. It is also being used to breathe new life into poisonous corporate energy "alternatives" like nuclear power. This war is something that U.S. environmentalists cannot afford to ignore.

The U.S. is at war to control the flow of oil into the world's smog producing automobiles and smoke-belching, toxic waste-producing factories. With 6% of the world's

population, the United States consumes 25% of the world's oil. As Friends of the Earth recently put it to Secretary of State Baker, it is unacceptable that we are waging war "to perpetuate policies which are despoiling the global environment... and accelerating global warming."

The purpose of this paper is to provide information and analysis of the environmental and social issues that surround this war. These issues will continue to exist once the fighting stops and must be resolved for any real peace to be possible.

The war in the Persian Gulf is creating a human and environmental tragedy of unimaginable proportions. Tens and possibly hundreds of thousands of people in Iraq may be dying, while refugees flood across borders. The allied death toll is also beginning to mount. This war, waged by adversaries bristling with lethal arsenals, will have long-lasting effects on the region's environment and therefore on future generations. While the war is being fought over oil, it is destroying the region's other resources—its seas and its agricultural land—which its people depend upon for survival. The environmental impacts of war, which will lead to famine, disease, and long-term suffering for people in the region, are the casualties no one is counting.

Operation Desert Storm

In a speech before the United Nations' Second World Climate Conference in Geneva this November, Jordan's King Hussein warned that "A war in the Gulf would not only result in devastating human death and injury, tremendous economic loss, and prolonged political confrontation between Orient and Occident, it could also lead to an "environmental catastrophe" that would be "swift, severe and devastating."

Examples from past accidents and incidents suggest that the bombing of Iraq, combined with the ominous threat of actual nuclear, chemical and biological warfare, in the scenarios described below, could produce an environmental disaster that would surpass Bhopal, Chernobyl and Hiroshima all rolled into one.



Oil: Weapon of Mass Destruction

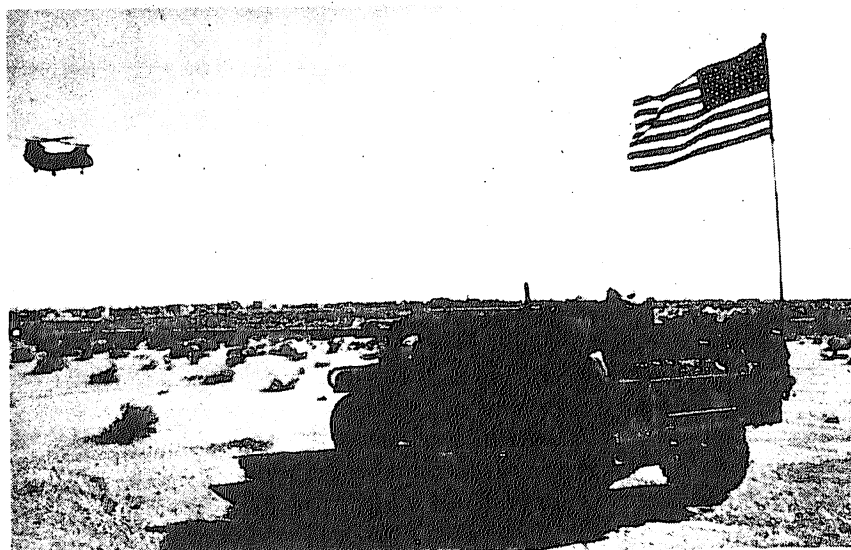
The U.S. military has "every expectation" that Iraq has mined Kuwait's wells. If Iraq ignites the wells, they may burn for up to one year, producing a plume of 5,000 tons of toxic smoke a day.

Some scientists, including Carl Sagan and UCLA atmospheric scientist Richard Turco charge that smoke produced by these fires could disrupt the climate over half of the Northern Hemisphere, causing crop failure. Other scientists, like Welsh chemical and environmental engineer John Cox, predict that the smoke from the fires would block sunlight and significantly lower temperatures in the Middle East causing crop failure. Cox points to the possibility that if the smoke reached the stratosphere it could create an equatorial ozone hole. Furthermore, notes Cox, the smoke could affect regional climates to the degree that it might also cause the Asian monsoons to fail, affecting more than one-billion people in India and Pakistan.

U.S. government scientists from the Pentagon and Department of Energy, however, deny these charges, insisting that supercomputer simulations they have run predict that smoke would not drift high enough into the atmosphere to either affect climatic changes or to disrupt the ozone. The tons of smoke that such fires would produce every day, would, in the words of Pentagon consultant Richard Small, be "limited" to a "massive pollution event" that would affect Southern Iran, Pakistan and Northern India.

Chemical and Biological Warfare

Before the U.S. began bombing its facilities, Iraq reportedly had the industrial capacity to produce as many as 700 tons of chemical warfare agents annually and has produced significant quantities in recent years. The government has reportedly stockpiled thousands of tons of mustard gas. The Iraqis also have hundreds of tons of the nerve gasses tabun and sarin. Iraq is also suspected of possessing the chemical agent phosgene which was responsible for 80% of the gas casualties during World War I. Some 125,000 tons of chemical weapons were used, killing 94,000 people and causing long-term suffering for close to a million more. Nerve gasses, which were first confirmed to have been used in combat during the Iran-Iraq war, are six to twelve times as lethal as mustard gas, kill almost instantly and are non-persistent in the environment, dissipating within hours. Iraq is also suspected to



have significant quantities of biological weapons such as anthrax which can make an area uninhabitable for up to forty years.

The United States, which still possesses the second largest chemical weapons stockpile in the world, reserves the right to retaliate in kind if attacked by chemical weapons. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney has refused to rule out the use of any weapon, stating that the U.S. is prepared to use "the full spectrum" of weapons.

The human and ecological impacts of the U.S.-led attacks on numerous Iraqi chemical weapons production facilities, which are located near millions of Iraqi civilians, are not yet known but could well be devastating. Iraq's main chemical weapons facility, located 25 miles north west of the holy Shi'ite city of Samarra, was a prime military target bombed by allied forces in the first days of the war. Before the war broke out, the *London Guardian* analyzed the potential impacts of bombing the Samarra plant. A direct hit on a storage bunker at the Samarra factory, said the *Guardian*, "would release an immense plume of toxic vapor which would disperse to kill every living thing it touched." Recent experience with the Bhopal gas disaster suggests that in the event of a temperature inversion, a toxic cloud released by such an attack could drift up to 50 miles during the day. Given prevailing winds, such a cloud would probably not blow over Samarra and its population of 70,000, but could instead poison the Tigris river, the Samarra barrage and Lake Mileh Tharthar, all essential sources for irrigation, flood control and drinking water. At least four other chemical weapons production sites

were bombed by allied forces in the first three days of the war and five others were unconfirmed targets.

If water is used to put out fires caused by the bombing of these facilities, it will leach the chemicals deep into the soil, or wash them into rivers, which will carry them downstream. Long-lasting "dead zones" will be created which will not support human or animal life. Clean-up efforts will be expensive and difficult and may be far beyond the Iraqis' resources.

Nuclear Threats

The consequences of the U.S. attack on Iraq's three small nuclear power plants are not yet known. However, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf has stated that he has "very high confidence that those nuclear reactors have been thoroughly damaged and will not be effective for quite some number of years." The military has failed to mention the potential "collateral" environmental impact of such raids, but environmental groups are raising questions. Friends of the Earth's Brent Blackwelder told us "You've got to have a lot of bravado if you think you can bomb a reactor without risking opening the container vessel" where the radioactive materials are held. Surgical strikes on nuclear reactors, says Blackwelder, cannot guarantee absolute pinpoint accuracy and run the risk of creating serious radioactive pollution problems.

In the last five months of 1990, the U.S. radically increased its nuclear weapons capability in the Gulf to 300 land-based warheads in Turkey and 700 warheads aboard U.S. Navy surface ships and attack submarines.

continued on page 56

Whose Sacrifice For Oil?

Karl Guevara Erb

"This is not an energy issue nor an environmental issue. It is an issue of human survival."

—Chief Lincoln Tritt, Arctic Village Traditional Council, testimony before the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

The Alaska National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) stretches from the boreal forest of interior Alaska northward across the rugged Brooks Range to the rolling tundra of the coastal plain of the Beaufort Sea on Alaska's North Slope—a wild area the size of South Carolina.

The current Gulf Crisis has birthed renewed interest in Congress and in the oil industry to explore and drill for oil on the coastal plain of ANWR. Currently Senator Bennett is introducing the Bush Administration's energy proposal, which provides for opening up the coastal plain of the Arctic Refuge for oil drilling. With a 19% chance of finding oil that will last the U.S. approximately 200 days at current rates of consumption (3.2 billion barrels over the next 30-90 years), the Alaska Congressional delegation, the governor, multinationals and some Alaska native corporations are willing to risk destroying the delicate ecology of the refuge.

Opposition to resource exploitation in ANWR is being led by the people who would be most affected, the Gwich'in Athabascan people, natives who live both in Canada and Alaska. The Gwich'in rely on the Porcupine Caribou Herd for subsistence and trading; the herd relies on the coastal plain for survival. It is their calving grounds.

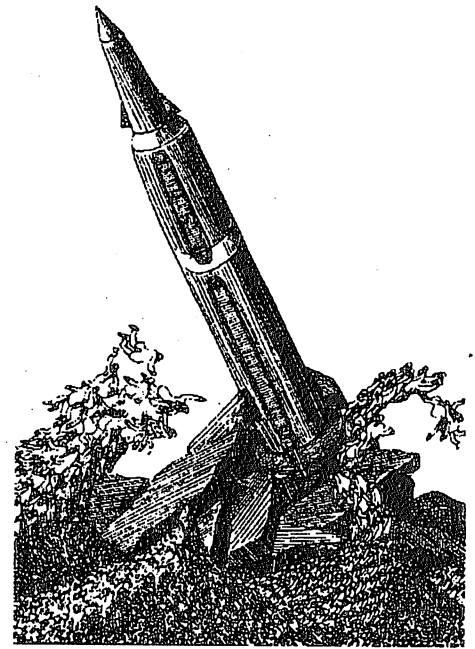
In 1988 Sarah James, of the Arctic Village Traditional Council, and Council Member of the Venetie Tribal Government, testified to Congress: "... that Caribou Herd is part of our existence, part of everyday life. That herd is not just our main source of food. We also do caribou dance, caribou song, wear the hide, use bone for tools, tell stories about it in Gwich'in language based on our caribou existence."

In violation of the Alaska State Constitution, the International Covenant on Human Rights and other international standards the Bush Administration seeks to develop an area over which they have questionable jurisdiction—development which

would destroy the Porcupine Caribou and result in the cultural genocide of the Gwich'in Athabascan people.

To help the Gwich'in save the last great wilderness, and their way of life, write your congressional representatives and urge them to co-sponsor S 39 and HR 39, the bills that will designate the coastal plain as wilderness, thereby protecting it from oil development. Also urge them not to co-sponsor the Bennett energy plan.

For more information write: The Gwich'in Steering Committee, P.O. Box 202768, Anchorage, Alaska 99520; (907) 258-6814; or The Alaska Coalition, 408 RCS St. NE, Washington DC, 20002; (202) 547-1141 ☐



On the Streets: The War at Home

September Jarrett

The impacts of the war in the Persian Gulf are great: environmental, economic, social. As often is the case, those who will feel some of the most painful effects of the war are the poorest and most disadvantaged of the nation: homeless people.

There are thousands of veterans who are homeless—people who were asked and required to serve their homeland, and now have no home. One third of the people living on our country's streets are veterans—people who have been abandoned to die by the richest nation in the world, after having heeded its call to war.

Many of those who serve in our armed forces are there because in America military service is one of the only avenues out of a life of poverty and hopelessness. We have in this country an economic draft. The rich can buy options such as quality education which are unavailable to the poor. It is the poor who do not have such options who will die on the battlefields—die to save the standard of living of the rich.

The conflict in the Persian Gulf will escalate the on-going war on the poor at home. Already more than 3 million people are homeless nationwide—casualties of past wars, the war on drugs, the war on working

people, and the daily struggle of no housing, no jobs, no education, no health care or social services.

Millions more Americans live on the brink of homelessness and destitution. This war threatens depression, inflation, and the subversion of money from desperately needed housing and healthcare subsidies and welfare payments. War threatens to hit hardest those who have the least, resulting in millions more people living in our streets.

To stop this madness, we need more than a movement that is anti-war. We need a movement that addresses the lack of justice, compassion, dignity, and security at home. We must not only bring the troops home, we must work to democratize wealth and power so that all people are allowed free and equal participation in making decisions about their lives and their country. We must work to create communities that are free from violence and poverty. We must stand against war, injustice, and homelessness, and for peaceful resolution of conflicts, here and everywhere.

For more information, contact, the Coalition on Homelessness at 126 Hyde Street, San Francisco, CA 94102, (415) 346-3740. ☐

Public Opinion and the Anti-War Movements' Strategies

Norman Solomon



High "approval ratings" for President Bush's war on Iraq, while disheartening for now, obscure some crucial problems likely to emerge soon for the war makers here at home.

After the U.S. attack on Iraq, media depicted public support for the war as overwhelming. But pollsters routinely offer only selective questions within narrow limits. Options outside the spectrums favored by elites are rarely posed or phrased in ways that could elicit major support.

As soon as the war began, public support for "starting military actions against Iraq" climbed from 47 to 75 percent, according to a *New York Times* survey (Jan. 22). But the same poll showed a corresponding decrease—from 48 to 19 percent—of people who "expect more than 5,000 American soldiers to lose their lives."

To encourage people to ignite their opposition in the open rather than letting it smolder in privatized and apolitical ways, we need to help create a climate of public discourse welcoming those who grow uneasy with the war but are hesitant to oppose it directly. And we'll need to build political pressure so that the war "issues" can't be co-opted.

Along the way we should be challenging mass media biases that favor white males. Polls keep showing that opposition to the war is very high among black people. And many surveys have reflected a "gender gap," with women more opposed than men. But people of color and women are commonly

excluded from media discussions. So are the poor. At the same time, the bulk of front-line troops are black or Latino, and from low-income backgrounds.

Over all, most national media coverage of peace demonstrations has ranged from mediocre to putrid. Pro-war strategists will strive to stereotype war foes in order to try and keep them marginalized—and to keep war support from eroding. CBS evening news, for instance, responded to the Jan. 26 marches in Washington and San Francisco with a few seconds of footage and a dismissive voice-over—part of a half-hour continually promoting the war as right and just.

The most powerful news media—the TV networks, news-weeklies, the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and key wire services—are solidly behind this war, and have gone to great lengths to coat the news frame with red-white-and-blue varnish. In late January the masters of war enjoyed a virtual stranglehold on the major media institutions, which griped about the Pentagon's censorship while voluntarily maintaining their own. But disquiet is likely to increase during the next few weeks at the grassroots, where anti-war organizing is the most crucial.

Despite the value of recent national demonstrations in D.C. and San Francisco, the greatest strengths of anti-war potential are to be realized via community organizing which can sustain activities in local areas. We need to build working relationships and coalitions where people live.

One of the benefits could be increased

pressures for improvements of news coverage by local media. The national mass media are usually able to brush off complaints about their pro-war biases. But local daily papers and broadcasters are apt to be much more sensitive to public denunciations, picket lines, petitions and the like.

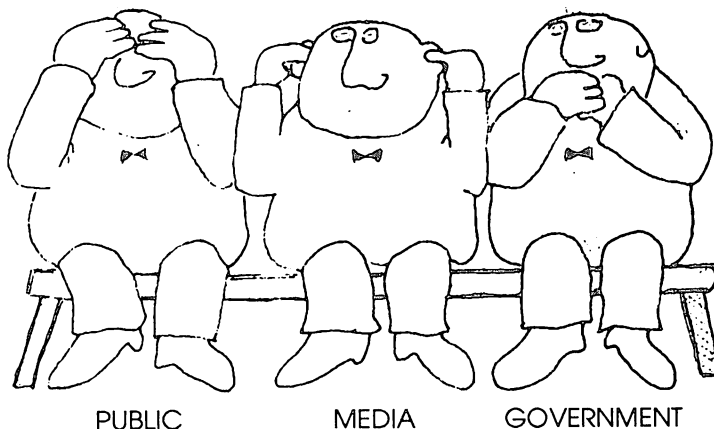
Leaflets, pamphlets, alternative periodicals, public forums and personal conversations—plus all the anti-war outlooks we can inject into mainstream media—could appreciably reduce support for this war. And when people sour on the warfare, they need to be encouraged to express their emerging opposition. While mass media have inundated people with rationales for accepting war, activists can do a lot to popularize reasons for opposing it.

As community organizing increases, controversies and dissension can be brought home. Groundwork can be laid for more extensive resistance among reserves and potential draftees. Anti-war communication can be stepped up in a variety of neighborhoods, and can be extended to include many of the half-million enlistees deployed in the Persian Gulf region.

The Pentagon's press restrictions and the mass media's overall pro-war gloss are efforts to prevent people in the United States from encountering human realities of the war. Continual massacring of Iraqi soldiers and civilians with high-tech weaponry is reported only as abstract "news." Paralleling the bloody attacks by the U.S. military are the stateside propaganda assaults on people whose acceptance of this war has rendered them passive accomplices.

"They have destroyed and are destroying... and do not know it and do not want to know it," James Baldwin once wrote. He added, "But it is not permissible that the authors of devastation should also be innocent. It is the innocence which constitutes the crime."

Norman Solomon is a member of the advisory board for Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting. □



Stop the Wars on Young People of Color

Roberto Mendoza

The war in the Persian Gulf is tragic for young people of color. There will be tens of thousands of deaths on both sides of the battlefield, both U.S. and Iraqi. The war is not only taking the lives of these young men right now, but will put the future of young people in both countries in danger. In the U.S., since the Cold War ended, there were expectations of a "peace dividend" of billions of dollars saved from the defense budget. This money could have been used to improve the lives of the poor and people of color; to house the homeless; to set up prevention and treatment programs for those dying of drugs, AIDS and suicide; and to reduce an infant mortality rate higher than some Third World countries. Since the war, this hopeful possibility has dissipated like a mirage in the Arabian desert.

From Drug War to Oil War

Young men and women of color have been living in a state of permanent economic depression, caused by an increasingly technological and automated economy. Along with runaway shops and the de-industrialization of the heartland, this bleak situ-

ation left few avenues of advancement. Many young men turned to the drug trade as a way to obtain the shiny material goods advertised on TV. This trade, controlled by outsiders from the CIA to Columbian drug lords, fueled a brutal competition for high profits, often settled by violence and murder. Many inner cities became urban war zones, with women and children random victims of "drive-by" shootings.

Many poor young men and women of color had joined the U.S. Armed Forces to escape the violence and poverty of the ghettos, barrios and Indian reservations. It was safer in service than on the streets of the inner city. Now the services are no longer a refuge. The war in the Gulf has closed that avenue off, trapping thousands of young people of color in the Arabian desert, facing death in a new, far deadlier "drug war." This time they fight for more powerful drug lords, the oil companies and the U.S. government. Oil is the energy drug that drives the U.S. economic system. This energy source has now become an addictive need by an economy rendered dependent on its ready availability and low cost. The U.S. has long divided and destabilized any nationalist Arab governments who opposed its control of the the Persian Gulf oil wealth. This cheap and dependable supply was threatened by the nationalist Saddam Hussein, who dared to redraw colonial boundaries and threatened to incite the Arab masses to redistribute the oil wealth. The U.S. as the prime backer of the oil fiefdoms in that area, was already seeking a permanent U.S. troop presence in the Arabian peninsula. Operation Desert Shield was created by former Texas oil man and CIA Director George Bush, as a way to get U.S. troops in, under the cover of a war to "liberate" Kuwait.

Environmental disasters, global warming, and the toxic waste crisis are all forcing the U.S. economic powers to choose: either continue on the path of cheap oil through control of the Persian

Gulf, or turn towards conservation and sustainable energy policies. It is clear that Bush and his corporate advisors have chosen the path of resource wars and environmental destruction, with all its terrible social, political and environmental costs, to be borne by future generations. As Charlie Betz puts it, the future is being stolen from today's young people.

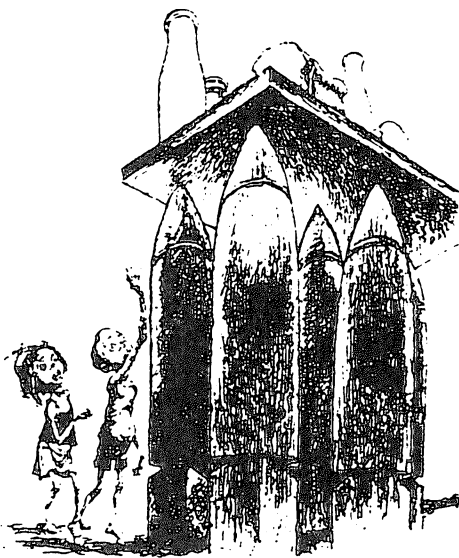
Young People Today: Across the Lines

70,000 African-American and Chicano young people have joined gangs in the Los



Angeles area, a fact that may be seen as a negative social indicator. But the main reason that young people in Watts and East L.A. join gangs is eminently reasonable: they join gangs to be part of a close "family" of peers.

The closeness and safety in numbers of gang life make sense in their dangerous and often bleak existence. Drugs and violence come later, as the price they pay to prove their courage and devotion to their "homies," in a pitiless war of survival in a brutal and limited economic and social environment. The hi-tech economy no longer needs their labor; they no longer count in the councils of power and their lives are expendable in the latest war waged to protect the collapsing economy.





munities face internal war in the streets of the inner cities, barrios and reservations and external war in the sands of the Persian Gulf. The level of desperation is rising: witness the formation of a "Black

Young people of color are facing an increasingly desperate situation. A whole generation has been lost to the drug wars. Thousands languish in bursting jails and prisons at a rate higher than in S. Africa. Increasingly, they make up the homeless and runaways. They need allies soon, and at a massive level. During the Civil Rights struggle, young European-Americans went in large numbers to the South to help out in Mississippi Freedom Summer, some risking their lives. The involvement of hundreds of European-Americans from the Witness for Nonviolence joining Native people in the recent fishing rights struggle in northern Wisconsin is an example of the alliance building struggles that are needed for the 90s.

The 7,000 young students who flocked to the Student Environmental Action Conference in Illinois last year were only the tip of a massive iceberg. They showed that European-American students are wide awake to the dangers facing the environment and who is primarily responsible. SEAC's People of Color Caucus pushed the other students to grapple with the issues of environmental racism and lack of economic and social justice in their communities.

Those of us who were part of the massive upsurge of young people who marched in both the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 60s need to tap into that righteous sense of rage and hope that propelled us into action. We need to harness and direct that anger to our experiences organizing and mobilizing thousands of people. If we can join the Vietnam/60s generation with the Persian Gulf/90s generation that is now awakening to their bleak future under the oil and drug lords, we can create a powerful movement to make real changes in the coming decades.

Detroit Summer: Dare To Be Allies!

Young people of color and their com-

Militia" in Milwaukee and the armed "Warrior Societies" among the U.S. and Canadian Mohawks. When a people have their backs to the wall and feel they have no real allies, they can be pushed to a violent response. The brutal war in the Gulf and its aftermath of death, maiming and bitterness will come back to haunt the country. The level of violence in a society relying on violence to solve problems can only rise.

We in the Greens need to wake up to this reality. This requires bold thinking, deep commitment and sustained programmatic action. We can use this challenge to come of age as a movement, to grow out of our narrow Euro-centric, middle-class, "environmentalist" social base and to act as equals in a broader movement for social justice. Taking the examples of Mississippi Freedom Summer, Redwood Summer and the northern Wisconsin Witness for Nonviolence (led by Greens in Milwaukee), we could create a campaign that would focus on the war on youth in the inner cities. As a possible example, Greens could call for a national campaign in 1992 with a name like **Detroit Summer**. This campaign would ask other national or regional groups to work with grassroots community leaders in Detroit or another community where Greens were already working with local organizations of people of color. We would make sure that our involvement would be welcomed by local activists and that our agenda would not be imposed on their struggle.

Many grassroots organizations are struggling valiantly, with scant resources and no help from governments or business to deal with overwhelming crisis in their communities. If the Greens could channel and coordinate a positive flow of people, resources and energy into some of these struggles in a key city, barrio or Native Nation, the hope generated could catalyze the vast energies of young people of all races. We especially need

to free the energies of those young people of color now siphoned off by drugs and internalized violence.

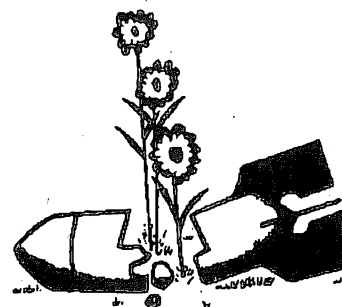
A key component of this campaign would be a training workshop on non-violence, cultural sensitivity and unlearning racism. We could call on the experience of the Witness for Nonviolence and the Big Mountain Witness to develop these. No one would be allowed to work in the field until they had participated in such workshops.

We could help start community gardens and small crafts co-ops; develop alternate energy and power sources, fix up old houses; build community and youth centers, teach needed skills, join anti-crack crusades, act as witnesses in police brutality cases, develop fundraising skills; or whatever the local community needed.

In return, young European-American Greens would learn the cultures, history and spirituality of people of color. We would develop real credibility and close ties to communities of color. We could finally realize the vision of the Warriors of the Rainbow, those young people of all races who would join together with courage and selflessness to inspire the world's peoples to save the earth and turn away from war.

If you would like to be a part of a workgroup developing the idea of **Detroit Summer** or a similar campaign, you can write to the Rainbow Greens, c/o Green Letter. We are hoping that **Detroit Summer** or ideas like it can be a model for other campaigns, nationally, regionally and locally. The lives of our youth are on the line. Let us see what life we can make for our youth.

For more information regarding **Detroit Summer** contact the Rainbow Greens c/o Green Letter, P.O. Box 14141 S.F. CA 94114. ☐



El Salvador

War, Ecology, and Solidarity

Bill Hall

In the skies of El Salvador, the silhouettes of U.S. A-37 combat jets and the high-pitched rumble of "Huey" military helicopters are commonplace, sights and sounds of a conflict that is now one of the most destructive wars the Western Hemisphere has ever seen. Today, one in five Salvadorans has been displaced from their homes, a greater percentage than the number of Vietnamese displaced during the war in Vietnam. The country's economy is in ruins, hundreds of villages lie destroyed, more than 70,000 people have been killed and thousands more wounded.

In its fight against the FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front) guerilla army, the U.S.-backed Salvadoran military targets both people and the environment. Forest areas where guerillas might hide are bombed; fields are burned; croplands and villages are razed. In an updated form of the "scorched earth" strategy employed by the U.S. in Southeast Asia, the Salvadoran military aims to crush the guerillas by depriving them of their base of support.

Community leaders from around the northern town of Perquin joined together in 1988 to protest these campaigns, placing an

ad in the Salvadoran daily *El Mundo* which read:

"We are very worried by the grave damage caused by the devastating forest fires caused by aerial bombing and indiscriminate mortar fire, as well as by soldiers carrying out patrols and operations. The armed forces commonly burn the forest during the dry season, accelerating the destruction of resources in the zone, including natural forests, logging areas, coffee crops and food crops. Because they have deforested large areas in our zone, the scorched earth and bombing campaigns have noticeably affected rainfall patterns. The length of the rainy season has shortened, and the

levels of streams and rivers have dropped. The situation is becoming more critical, and we are worried now because it is affecting us directly. Our crops have diminished and this worsens our already agonizing economic situation."

The Origins of the Civil War

At the root of El Salvador's violent conflict is 400 years of colonialism in Central America. Indigenous Pipil, Lenca, and Pokoman people lived and farmed in El Salvador for nearly twenty thousand years. The native people knew it as Cuzcatlan—Land of Richness.

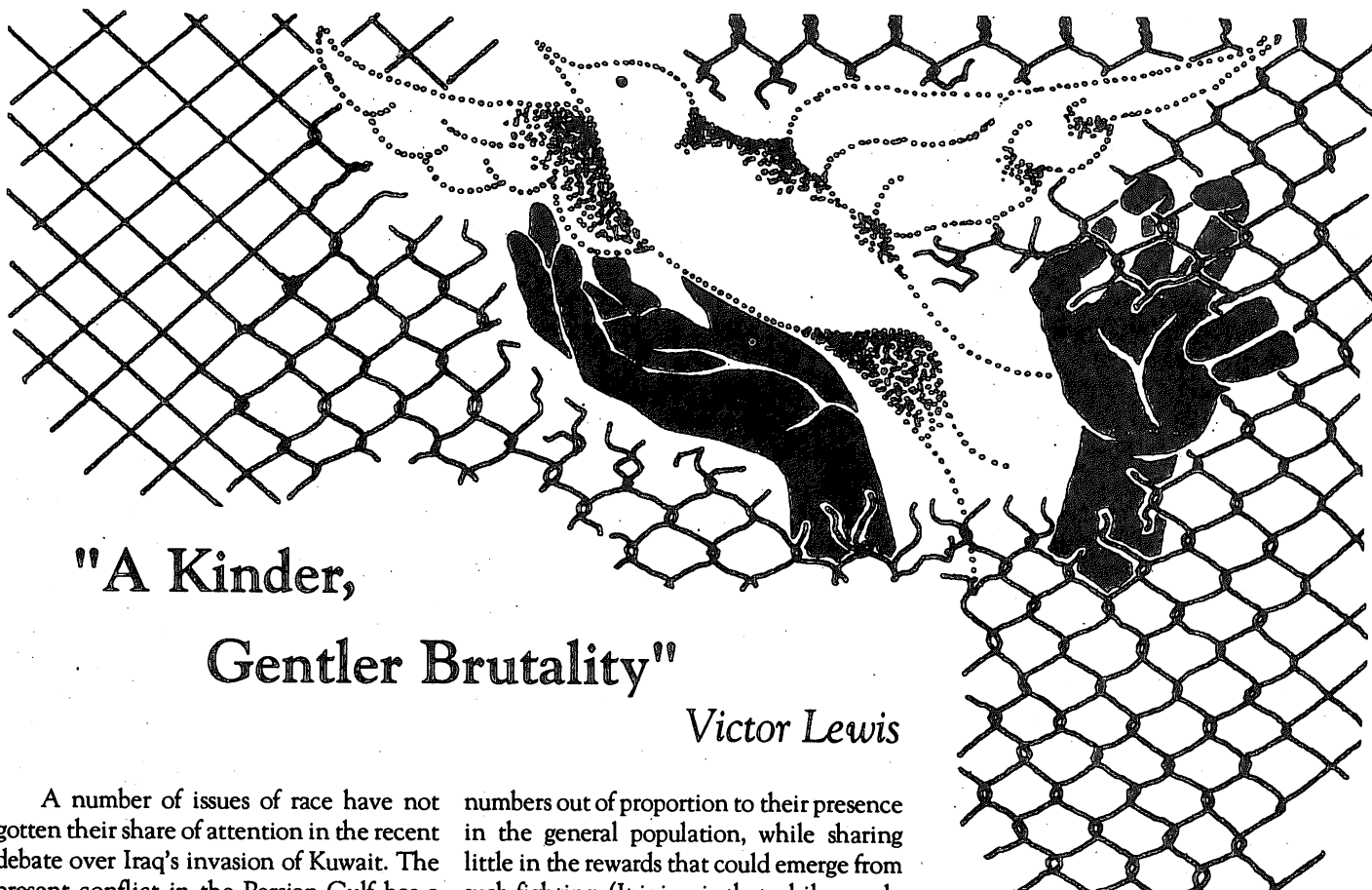
Spanish conquerors turned this thriving, self-sufficient indigenous civilization into a slave economy geared towards shipping agricultural wealth abroad. Today a modern version of that colonial system remains intact, as British and finally U.S. economic and military might inherited custody of the Spanish empire. A modern, imperialist economic structure devotes the best farmland to raising beef, coffee, sugar, bananas, cotton, flowers and other products for transnational corporations such as Safeway and Nabisco. A small Salvadoran elite allied to these corporate interests, referred to as the "Fourteen Families," comprises less than 2% of the population yet enriches itself from ownership of more than 60% of all the country's arable land. As a result of this inequality, poverty, malnutrition and illiteracy are widespread.

Ecological destruction is inherent in this economic arrangement. Huge monocrop estates of export crops require intensive chemical applications (including pesticides banned for use in the U.S.) which lead to soil erosion. Genetic diversity in staples like corn and beans gives way to scientifically formulated, uniform seed strains far more vulnerable to disease and pests over the long run. The need to control land for export crops leads to constant expansion of agriculture at the expense of the last remaining wilderness, and drives small farmers to cultivate on erosion-prone hillsides and marginal land.

Overall the ecological crisis in El Salvador is staggering. Serious erosion affects 77% of the countryside, as farmers dispossessed of their land have moved into ecologically fragile areas. Virtually all of the original tropical deciduous forests are gone. Pollution, according to the U.S. Agency for International Development, "is a problem that

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"A Kinder, Gentler Brutality"

Victor Lewis

A number of issues of race have not gotten their share of attention in the recent debate over Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The present conflict in the Persian Gulf has a long and complicated history in which race plays a major role. During World War I an army of nomadic Arabic tribes, under the leadership of T. E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia), helped the Allies topple the Ottoman empire. They were promised a united Arab sovereign state as a reward for their efforts. Like so many promises made to people of color by whites in the last few hundred years, this promise was empty as a broken jar.

The political landscape of the Middle East was shaped by European colonial powers shortly after World War I, with the political and economic interests of rich white rulers and corporations in mind, and contempt for the aspirations to self-determination of the majority of people in the region. The current crisis could be regarded as, among other things, an Arab response to the arrogance and deceit of the Anglo-European and U.S. powers who still exert a strong influence in the region.

People of color are over-represented in the 400,000 member fighting force that the U.S. has sent to kill and die in the sands of the Middle East, because of the relative lack of employment opportunities available to men and women of color in this country. When there is war, people of color will die in

numbers out of proportion to their presence in the general population, while sharing little in the rewards that could emerge from such fighting. (It is ironic that while people of color are grossly under-represented in the leadership of the military, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Colin Powell, an African-American, is the man who decided that the initial deployment of U.S. troops should be a massive one, rather than the small beginnings of the Viet Nam war.)

People of color, who are "have-not" people almost by definition, are also the designated enemy. The soldiers working for Saddam Hussein and other Arab leaders are almost all men who are poor to begin with and who are likely to be far more impoverished if they were not soldiers. The vast majority of Middle Eastern people live in grinding poverty. Oil is the only toe-hold on survival in the global economic order that their countries have, since they have no other major exports.

Saddam Hussein has been called a "monster" who must be stopped at all cost. The invasion of any sovereign state must be condemned. But the Persian Gulf situation is much more complex than the question of whether or not he is a monster or if he should be stopped and how. The hypocrisy of condemning Hussein's "naked aggression" deserves to be examined in the light of the total history of the region. We should also ques-

tion the "well-dressed" aggression of our own government's leadership, snuggling up to such champions of democracy as Somoza and later the Contras in Nicaragua, the Shah of Iran, Marcos of the Philippines, and Pinochet of Chile, to name a few. From a comfortable and sanitary distance, the White House, Capitol Hill and the Pentagon have fashioned U.S. policies which have visited death and suffering upon many millions of peoples of color all over the globe in the last half century. But ours is a kinder, gentler form of brutality than the Arab Saddam's.

When Latino children from McFarland, California succumb to 300% more cancers than the average, probably due to exposure to pesticides, to paraphrase poet Marge Piercy, they say "I am dying," not "they are killing me." When chemical companies export lethal pesticides to unwitting farmers in the Third World because they are deemed too dangerous for use within our own borders, it's considered just good business. When more young African-American men find themselves in jail, on parole, or on probation than in college, no "monsters" are created and condemned except among the victims of

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Peabody Coal Expansion Threatens more Diné with Relocation

"Our oral tradition teaches us that these sacred mountains and other places are to remain undisturbed.... Mining cannot co-exist with traditionalism."

—Mary Gilmore,
Forest Lake Diné Elder

Over the last 20 years, the advance of the Black Mesa-Kayenta mining complex on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona has forced the removal of 21 traditional Diné (Navajo) families from the Peabody leasehold. An additional 11 families in the Forest Lake district will also face forced relocation if the company's planned expansion continues. At stake are the rights to go on living in their homes, to continue their traditional way of life and to protect their sacred sites from destruction.

At the end of January, 1991, four delegates representing the Forest Lake Diné Rights Movement and the Sovereign Diné Nation traveled to Great Britain to meet with executives of the Newmont Corporation, which owns a major share of the Peabody Coal Company. They will continue on to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland.

On July 6, 1990, over the protests of the traditional Diné families living in the area, U.S. Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan approved a permit for Peabody Coal's Kayenta Mine to continue strip-mining Black Mesa.

Under the original leases, Peabody is also authorized to use at least 4,600 acre-feet of ground water per year. This causes great concern to the Diné peoples who live and herd sheep in this dry, high desert area. Much of this water is used by Peabody to operate a 275-mile coal slurry which carries coal from the Black Mesa Mine to the Mohave Power Plant to be converted into electricity for use by metropolitan areas in the region.

In addition to threats of forced relocation, traditional Diné peoples are deeply concerned about the desecration of sacred sites and medicine-gathering areas located around Black Mesa, many of which have already been disturbed or destroyed.

Leo Begay, a spokesperson for the families living in the area, says that after the families had been forcibly removed from a Tribal Council meeting, these families decided to organize the Forest Lake Diné Rights Movement (Diné Bi Keyah). The Forest Lake Chapterhouse of the Navajo Tribal Government has come to their support and opposes further expansion of Peabody's mining in the area.

According to Begay, since 1987, Peabody has hired security guards, including the notorious Pinkerton's, not only to protect their equipment from potential sabotage by residents but to harass families in their homes and confiscate livestock.

While confronted with the proposed forced relocation of their families and a noticeable decrease in the water table, the people of the have also documented serious health threats to both humans and livestock, caused by contamination from Peabody's mines. In 1989, 86 sheep, representing the major source of food as well as the way of life for the family of Mabel Begay, died after drinking water contaminated by potassium nitrate near the Black Mesa Mine. Mrs. Begay, whose extended family depends on the sheep, testified at a 1989 environmental impact hearing on the mines that "We have been greatly hindered in our way of life by the loss of our sheep.... Perhaps those who are not involved as we are can't know the pain that we are going through."

The Federal Government as well as the Hopi and Navajo Tribal Councils have always maintained that resource exploitation in Big Mountain and other areas partitioned by the Hopi Navajo Land Dispute Resolution Act (PL 93-531) was not the motivation behind the relocation efforts. Rather the U.S. government is depicted as a mediator between the two tribes. But maps and documents obtained in 1988 reveal Peabody's apparent intentions eventually to expand into the Big Mountain area, which lies in the path of a major unmined coal seam stretching from Wepo to the Hopi mesas.

While not formally approved, Peabody's

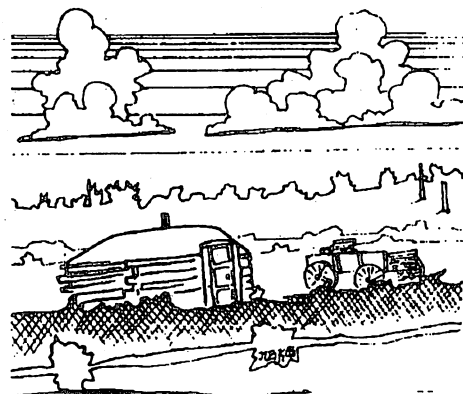
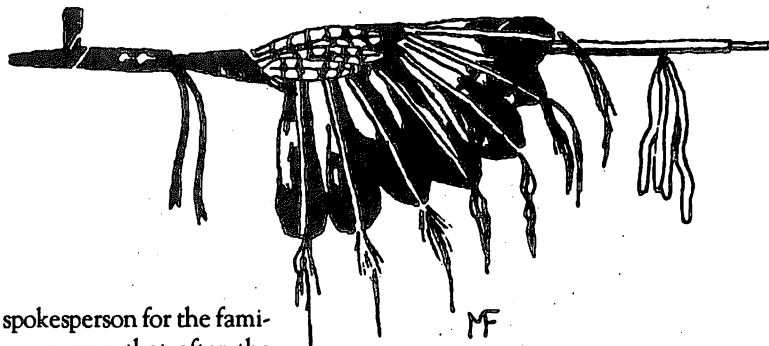
plans for expansion into the Big Mountain area would provide for leasing an additional 54,637 acres of land from the Hopi and Navajo tribes. Another 300-500 million tons of coal would be extracted, mainly for sale to Japan. Even more families will face relocation as a result. Peabody has offered to "share ownership" of the project with both the Navajo and the Hopi Tribes, as long as the Tribes can assure Peabody that the company will not end up "bearing the brunt of any adverse publicity" regarding the forced relocation, a Peabody representative was quoted as stating during a 1988 meeting with Hopi tribal officials.

Like people of the Big Mountain Sovereign Diné Nation, the Forest Lake families have pledged "total resistance to forced relocation." But they are up against powerful and wealthy opposition to their desire to continue living a peaceful, traditional way of life on their homelands. "Nobody is listening to us, to the people," Leo Begay concludes. "That's why we need some kind of support."

To find out how you can help, contact:

Diné Bi Keyah
Box 1464
Kayenta, AZ 86033

And please write U.S. Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan expressing your opinion on this issue. □



Indian Communities Organize against Toxic Waste

On January 30, 1991 the Kaibab-Paiute Tribal Council announced that it would drop its ongoing negotiations with Waste-Tech Corporation for a waste incineration project on the reservation, located on the Utah-Arizona border. The proposed project generated strong opposition from tribal members. One community-based group, the Earthkeepers, organized a major educational campaign directed at both tribal members and the Council, presenting the environmental and health dangers associated with projects of this type. Kaibab-Paiute Tribal members and the Council were also greatly concerned about aspects of the contract proposed by Waste-Tech which would infringe on the Tribe's sovereignty, such as restrictions on the Tribe's right to conduct site visits or to veto future types of waste disposal projects on Tribal lands.

Waste-Tech is one of the corporations that has spent the last several years trying to build five incinerators on Indian Land, but

has run into stiff opposition from those living on the land. Chickaloon Village in Alaska, the Navajo community of Dilkon Arizona, and the Kaw Tribal Council in Oklahoma have all rejected proposals for hazardous waste incinerators.

In Oklahoma, although Waste-Tech got their foot in the door with the Kaw Tribal Council last year, the company met with opposition from five tribes who share jurisdiction over the proposed site. Members of the tribes organized the Campaign for Sovereignty to stop Waste-Tech. Carter Camp of the Campaign for Sovereignty explained: "this incinerator was a threat to our sovereignty, our land and environment. The Kaw are the People of the Wind, and the Kaw decided not to poison the Earth with the Wind."

Source: Greenpeace Southwest



**Political Prisoner
Action Alert!**

**Tuscarora Indian
Eddie Hatcher
Eligible for Parole May 1991**

Thelma Clark, Eddie's mother, and the Robeson County Defense Committee are asking supporters to write to the North Carolina Parole Commission asking that Eddie be paroled. (See GL, Spring 1990 for story of Eddie Hatcher's imprisonment.)

Write to:

NC Parole Commission
831 West Morgan Street
Raleigh, NC 27603

For more information,
or to send your support, write:

Robeson County Defense Committee
P.O. Box 1389
Pembroke, NC 28372

Alaska Subsistence Struggle Takes the Offense in Court

"The State of Alaska and its people shall disclaim any and all lands owned, occupied and/or claimed by Natives of Alaska, including fishing rights forever."

— State of Alaska Constitution,
Article XII, Section 12,
effective January 3, 1959

In October, the State of Alaska dropped the charges against 31 defendants, including 10 minors, arrested or cited at the July 30th Subsistence Fish-In in Kenai, Alaska.

Each defendant faced a maximum sentence of one year in jail and a \$5,000 fine for each charge of "illegal subsistence fishing." Most of those facing jail time were Alaska Native women, including several elders.

The Fish-In was organized by members of the Traditional Dena'ina Tribe and the Subsistence Women of Kenai. Representatives from Native villages throughout Alaska participated in the event, which called attention to violations of human rights carried out against traditional fishing and hunting Peoples by the State of Alaska, which have included harassment, intimidation, confiscation of gear and subsistence foods, arrests, fines and incarcerations.

The State of Alaska dropped the charges for "lack of evidence," a strange claim considering that the defendants admitted to placing an "illegal" subsistence drift net on the shore of Cook Inlet. Evidence from media was also available.

Mary Ann Mills, a member of the Traditional Dena'ina Tribal Council and one of the event's organizers, believes the State backed down partly in response to the widespread support for the event, and partly because the defendants filed "motions of special appearance" at their arraignment, challenging the State's jurisdiction in Indigenous subsistence cases such as this one.

"The State was going to have to prove it has jurisdiction over our fishing rights before going on with the prosecution," she explained. "They didn't want to have to face us in court over this issue, when they know that according to Federal, International, and Tribal law, and even their own State Constitution, we are in the right. They also didn't

want to have to respond to our charges of human rights violations."

Taking the offensive, on December 17th, Mills and co-defendants filed a "motion of notification for lack of jurisdiction under special appearance" with the U.S. Federal Court in Anchorage, along with a "motion of notification of human rights violations" constituting genocide against Alaska Native Peoples, in violation of Public Law 100-606 (The Genocide Act, passed by Congress in 1988).

For more information, contact:

Mary Ann Mills
Subsistence Women of Kenai
P.O. Box 143
Sterling, AK 99672
(907) 262-5403

These pages compiled by Karl G. Erb. Special thanks to Treaty Council News, 710 Clayton St. #1, San Francisco, CA 94117; (415) 566-0251



Nuclear Testing Protests in Nevada

January saw the culmination of many peace activists' work around the world for a concerted effort toward a comprehensive test ban. Last summer Greenpeace decided to work jointly with the American Peace Test and other groups to put on a January 4th conference and January 5th rally and non-violent civil resistance action at the Nevada Test Site. There were lots of challenges regarding different organizing styles, allocation of resources, meeting each others' expectations, not to mention the differences within the separate organizations.

However, several thousand people attended the conference and action. The workshops on environmental, health, and Native land rights issues, and the international reports, along with the alliance-building workshops, were terrific and very community-building.

January 5th, at the test site, the sun came out, and the temperature even warmed up a bit as if the desert was welcoming us to speak on her behalf. After an inspiring rally where Native Tahitians, Kazakhs, and Shoshone smoked a peace pipe together—never before had the nineteen Soviets and two Tahitians been at the test site—around 750 people were arrested for walking over the main entrance to the test site, or for climbing over the low fence and walking on to the land, either towards the mountains or Mercury, the control center. Everyone was released by late evening.

Following the Nevada actions many international and U.S. activists attended the Partial Test Ban Treaty Amendment

Conference in New York City where 95 of the 118 signers of the limited test ban treaty of 1963 (which ended above-ground testing) met at the UN, January 7th-12th, to attempt to amend this treaty to make it comprehensive. No vote was taken on the amendment proposal itself. However only the U.S. and Great Britain voted against a resolution to continue the work of the conference at a future session. We believe this was largely due to the lobbying efforts of the NGO's

(non-government organizations). Given the U.S.'s entrenched attitude, this was the best we could hope for.

While in New York international activists met to establish the principles of unity for an unprecedented Global Anti-nuclear Alliance, an international network which will facilitate better international cooperation. Then on January 12th we held a mass indoor rally and officially announced the forming of the alliance. At the same time, an unprecedented number of international peace activists representing different organizations signed the People's Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to resist nuclear testing until it stops everywhere. The next joint actions will be held April 5th-8th at the Nevada Test Site in the U.S., where there will be a peace encampment across from the main entrance, featuring workshops and non-violent direct action.

For organizing information or connecting with others in your area who are interested, please contact: American Peace Test, PO Box 26725, Las Vegas, Nevada 89126, (702) 386-9834.



*Stiltwalking drummers from the Wise Fools troupe joined the Nevada protest.
Photo c. 1991 by Helen Hughes.*



Protesters at the Nevada Test Site marched through downtown Las Vegas. Photo by Karen Byers.

Pamela Osgood



Student Movement Addresses Varied Issues

This school year marks a decisive break with the 1980s. Several key student issues stand out: ecology, education, and of course, the war. Excellent work is being done to link these issues and their various partisans; here is a brief report on each movement.

The Persian Gulf war has impelled many student organizers to examine the holistic connections between US military policy and other domestic and international crises. Linking the war with the environment, racism, poverty and campus militarism have become key tasks for activists across the country.

Most recently, a very diverse and well attended student meeting here in Washington, DC, (sponsored by the National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East) approved a six-point multi-issue platform as an organizing base for antiwar work. The platform advocates peace and self-determination in the Middle East; a sustainable US energy policy; opposes racism and both the poverty and legal drafts. During the Vietnam War, antiwar activists could rarely agree on a simple and coherent set of multi-issue demands, leaving the single-issue antiwar activists as the prevailing tendency. If concise, basic and sensible lines of multi-issue agreement can be maintained, incoming activists will be encouraged to think holistically, which will hopefully sustain their commitment once the immediate crisis is over.

The Student Environmental Action Coalition continues as a major player in the broader student movement. "The number of materials we mail out, projects we're involved in, people we're in contact with is growing exponentially," says J. Burger of the National Office in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. "Locals are working on war issues from the angle of energy, and broadening their perspective on how it affects everything—lots of people are working with other coalitions." A further indication of SEAC's impressive degree of organization are the regional conferences scheduled this winter and spring in all of SEAC's 17 regions across the country. (Contact the National Office at 919-967-4600 for further information.) Finally, SEAC is planning a national energy rally for April

8 in Washington, DC; time and place to be announced.

Tuition increases, overcrowding, and enrollment cuts are starting to affect higher education accessibility, at a time when steady employment and financial security increasingly require a college degree. Universities' continued complicity with military/industrial interests destroying the planet and fueling the Gulf conflict plays a large part in this erosion of access. Campus activists are challenging academic connections with social injustice and ecological holocaust, and calling for the continued defense of educational access.

Struggles around these issues have occurred at Rutgers, the SUNY system, Oberlin College, UMass-Amherst, and other locations in the past year. As tangling with the financial, research and investment policies of large educational institutions can be a very complex affair, it is crucial for national organizations to provide strong support for incoming student activists who wish to do such work.

Education for the People, a project of

the National Coalition for Universities in the Public Interest, published an organizing guide on these issues, and is in the process of compiling a database—the University Profiles Project—documenting corporate and military connections with academia. A meeting of activist researchers from the Progressive Student Network, Student Action Union, People for a Socially Responsible University, Education for the People, and various schools grappled with these matters on January 25 in Washington, DC. A researcher network and a conference are in the works.

For further information contact:

Student Environmental Action Coalition
P.O. Box 1168 Chapel Hill, NC 27514-1168
(919) 967-4600

National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East 1225 - 15th St. N.W.
Washington, DC 20005 (202) 462-1801
National Coalition for Universities in the Public Interest 1801 - 18th St. N.W. Washington, DC 20009 (202) 234-0041

Charles Betz



Threshold is the network newsletter of the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC). Recent features include Race & Environment, Organizing Skills, International News. Individual memberships are \$15 for students/youth, \$35 non-student. Contact SEAC for group rates. SEAC, PO Box 1168, Chapel Hill NC 27514-1168.



Where Water is as Valuable as Oil

Tori Woodard

Water is as valuable as oil in many parts of the American West, where precipitation is low and streams are far apart.

Water has become so valuable that entrepreneurs scheme ways to supply it to the thirsty cities built in what used to be called the Great American Desert. This often involves moving water between bioregions. Many people who do not oppose pumping water for local use, or even for the use of people downstream, balk at pumping water out of one bioregion into another. One such scheme is currently being proposed—and fought—in Colorado.

Mining Water

Natural deep water aquifers, which underlie some of the West, are being systematically "mined" for water to support farming and population centers. The largest of these may be the Ogallala Aquifer under Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, the panhandle of Texas, and the eastern plains of Colorado. It is being steadily pumped to supply huge farm sprinklers. In Arizona, the water supply for the metropolis of Phoenix is mined from an underground aquifer.

"Mining" means more water is removed from the ground than is replaced. An aquifer may be partially replenished by reabsorbing some of the water that was removed, by

precipitation and run-off from nearby mountains, or by importing water from another source.

There are several problems with mining water. In the short run, pumping can make the ground subside, which can crack buildings, heave highways, and break buried water and gas pipes. In the long run, mining water will dry it up.

Most aquifers in the West contain "fossil" water, locked in the ground by geologic events that took place millions of years ago. In this arid region, there is not enough precipitation to recharge the aquifers. Once fossil water has been removed and allowed to evaporate, it is gone forever from that locale.

Water Relocation Schemes in Colorado

American Water Development, Inc. (AWDI) now owns a 110,000-acre ranch northwest of the Great Sand Dunes National Monument in the San Luis Valley, Colorado. AWDI has filed an application in Colorado Water Court to withdraw 200,000 acre-feet of water annually (equal to 65 billion gallons per year) from the San Luis Valley's deep water aquifer. AWDI proposes to drill 100 wells; each would pump 5000 gallons per minute from a depth of 200 to 2500 feet.

AWDI proposes to transport the water to cities east of the Rockies (Denver, Colorado Springs, etc.) via a pipeline with pumping stations to get it over the mountains. It is rumored, however, that AWDI's preferred customer would be San Diego, California.

The San Luis Valley

The San Luis Valley, Colorado's only true desert, lies between two Rocky Mountain ranges. The Valley is quite large: 100 miles long and up to 60 miles wide. Average elevation of the Valley floor is 7000 feet.

Geologically, the Valley has two water systems stacked on top of each other. The surface water table and streams, including headwaters of the Rio Grande, are replenished by yearly precipitation (only 6 inches per year). A layer of clay 200 feet down separates the surface aquifer from a much larger, confined aquifer containing fossil water. Punctures of the clay layer have produced artesian wells (continuously-flowing geysers).

In portions of the Valley, Spanish settlers began irrigating fields with streamwater about 160 years ago. Use of artesian water





and pumping from wells has added to the Valley's agricultural productivity over the years. (the pumping proposed by AWDI would stop the flow from artesian wells.)

An independent 1987 study by the Colorado Water Resources and Power Development Authority (CWRPDA) found that it is not economically feasible to develop the San Luis Valley's confined aquifer for irrigation water. The most a Valley farmer can pay for water is \$20 per acre-foot per year (af/y), while development costs would be \$50-80/af/y. This is why AWDI wants to export the water to another bioregion: some municipalities will pay up to \$10,000/af/y. AWDI's investors stand to make billions of dollars.

The money behind AWDI is primarily from Canadian and other out-of-state investors. AWDI's Board of Directors include William Ruckelshaus (former Environmental Protection Agency Director) and former Colorado Governor Richard Lamm. Maurice Strong, Secretary General for the 1992

United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, withdrew from his former position as president of AWDI, but retains interest in any profits made.

Denver, parenthetically, sits on a vast aquifer of its own, but gets its water supply from trans-mountain diversions and the South Platte River. The city of Denver is just starting to install water meters in homes, but has no plans to measure the amount of water it uses in parks, etc. Denver's average daily use per person is 232 gallons/day; the national average is around 80 gallons/day.

Arguments Against the Water Project

The clay layer which keeps the water near the surface in the San Luis Valley is held up by the pressure of the confined water underneath it. If a lot of confined water is removed, the clay layer may collapse. Ground water would then be far below the roots of trees, bushes and grass.

AWDI acknowledges that withdrawal of water will affect the Valley's water table

and dry up others' wells, but it promises to supply Valley residents with some of the water it pumps. Valley residents are aware that such promises of water have not always been kept. Owens Valley, California farmers never saw the water they were promised when Los Angeles drained their lake 80 years ago; Sonora, California and neighboring towns never got water promised from the New Melones Dam built in the 1980s.

Even if AWDI keeps its promises to farmers and townships, this does not address the problem of plants drying up on the uncultivated sections of the Valley floor. At present, desert plants hold down alkaline soil. With the plants gone, Valley residents—as well as citizens of downwind Pueblo—would face great alkali dust storms like those which now plague the Owens Valley in Cali-

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AIDS Quilt on National Tour

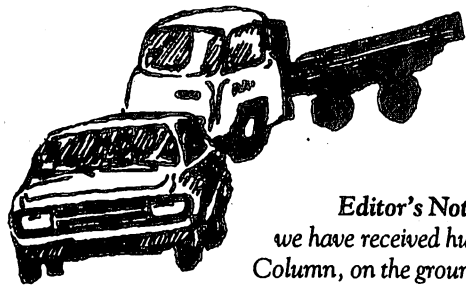
The NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt is being featured in an ongoing tour of North America. Incorporating more than 14,000 individual panels created by friends and relatives of AIDS victims, the quilt challenges viewers and participants to understand the facts, confront the issues, and act to end the AIDS crisis.

The NAMES Project continues to accept new panels for the Quilt. Donations are also needed. For more information, contact The NAMES Project, 2362 Market Street, San Francisco CA 94114, (415) 863-1966.

Upcoming appearances of the Quilt:



Dates	City	Display Site	Phone
2/28-3/3	Allentown PA	Muhlenberg College	215-820-5519
3/1-3/3	St Louis MO	Washington University	415-863-1966
3/9-3/11	Palm Springs CA	Palm Springs Pavilion	619-323-2118
3/21-3/24	Long Beach CA	Queen Mary Exhibition Hall	213-495-2330
3/22-3/24	Oakland CA	Hyatt Hotel Convention Center	415-268-7985
3/22-3/24	Swarthmore PA	Swarthmore College	215-328-8492
4/14-4/19	Charlottesville VA	University of Virginia	804-924-3286
4/19-4/21	Claremont CA	Claremont College	714-621-8555
4/21-4/23	San Francisco CA	Moscone Center	415-421-8810
5/13-5/17	Cupertino CA	Apple Computer Building	408-974-4923
5/17-5/19	Hanover NH	Dartmouth College	603-632-5501



The Automotive Column

by Charles Varon

Editor's Note: This column is being published under protest. Since the outbreak of hostilities in the Persian Gulf, we have received hundreds of letters, telegrams and electronic messages demanding the suspension of the Automotive Column, on the grounds that it is "frivolous," "non-essential," and "beside the point." (This is part of a larger thrust for "no business as usual" during the war.)

The Green Letter Automotive Column Advisory Board finds itself in a dilemma. While we appreciate the concerns of the letter writers, we believe that suspending the column would open us to charges of censorship. The compromise we have arrived at is to print the column over a background imprint that reads "OQR," short for "Of Questionable Relevance."

The search for a new automotive editor has been postponed indefinitely. This issue's column was prepared by Charles Varon, a man who recently received \$1,000, in full and final settlement of any damage that may have been done to his body during a rear-end collision eleven months ago.

Question: I love my car. I love driving it, I love being in it, I love making love in it (and to that end I recently purchased cardboard shields, ostensibly to protect the car's upholstery from sunlight but excellent for privacy as well). As an environmentalist, I feel a little sheepish about this, especially with the war in the Gulf and all. So I've been trying to drive less, and though the exercise from walking and cycling feels good, I miss my car. Last Saturday, after a week of "being good," I found myself driving 150 miles to a lake I used to go swimming in when I was a kid. When I got there, it was frozen, and I realized what I had done.

Is it OK to love my Celica? Or should I be in some sort of recovery program or support group?

Response: It is still socially unacceptable for environmentalists to admit affection for their autos. Green linguist Connie Berm-Wally has demonstrated (1989) that environmentalists use the phrase "America's love affair with the automobile" almost exclusively to refer to persons other than themselves.

And yet there are indications that for a great many Greens and fellow travelers, the car is more than simply a form of transportation. Though they don't wash or wax their cars as often as the American car-owning population at large, environmentalists have a disproportionate number of sunroofs, decorate their vehicles with a cornucopia of bumperstickers, and custom-name their cars (changing from Ford Tempo, for instance, to Rainbow Sunshower, or from Mazda 280ZX to Gaia 4B*). All this suggests that for the ecologically-oriented, this is "the love that dare not speak its name," the hidden, tortured relationship that must be

kept "in the garage."

But these considerations only scratch the tip of the iceberg of the larger, psycho-philosophical issue of human-car love, or "autoeroticism." For decades the consensus among ecologists was that human beings' attachment to the automobile was simply a matter of speed, convenience, and necessity.

Then, in the Spring 1988 issue of *Science and Eternity*, Bernice Bethlehem-McPhee, a Freudian/Jungian analyst, lay midwife, and at the time adjunct professor of philosophy at Cottagedale College, published the results of a three-year study that made use of deep trance work as well as ethnography and standard deviation. She presented evidence that on the highway, drivers' heart rates and breathing patterns became synchronized with the valves of their car engines at a ratio of 1:103, and that even on shorter drives, car seats took the form of their passengers.

In the most controversial aspect of the study, subjects were placed under hypnosis and asked to "mentally replace" the blood in their veins with motor oil and their saliva with antifreeze. Research assistants in another part of the city then started up and began driving the subjects' cars, while Bethlehem-McPhee simultaneously monitored the subjects' visual and auditory sensations. In 112 out of 131 cases, the subject's impressions correlated "literally or metaphorically" with those of the automobile.

"A potent bond links human and machine, driver and driven," Dr. Bethlehem-McPhee concluded. "This is not a casual affection or camaraderie, but deep physical and emotional consarpinity—what the ancient Greeks called *eros*." She chastised the academic and environmental communities for "holding fast to a dry, utilitarian,

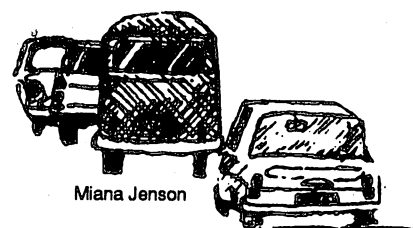
hyper-rational worldview," and challenged the skeptical to disprove her findings.

In the intellectual ruckus that ensued, a spate of articles were published attacking Bethlehem-McPhee's methods and integrity,** her tenure at Cottagedale was revoked, and half a dozen new studies of the subject were undertaken—all, however, with inconclusive results.

So, in response to your question, "Is it OK to love my Celica?" the best we can do is to say that opinions differ. Those who hold with Dr. Bethlehem-McPhee will tell you that you are normal and have nothing to worry about. Others, like psychologist Pogonip Gardyloo, believe that with adequate counseling, it is possible for environmentalists to achieve human-car relationships that are both mutually fulfilling and non-addictive. Finally, the Canadian pathologist Akhnaten Bippy-Poozer, to whom we posed your question by phone, said that you are very sick. He recommended a mild anti-depressant for you, and an oil change for your car.

* Gaia 4B is a reference to the estimated age of the Earth, 4 billion years, as well as to the apartment number of the car's owner, Lewis Obreviture.

** See, for instance, F.W. Milkechnie-Aswan, "Did the Doctor Doctor Her Data?," *New England Journal of Statistics*, September 1988.



Miana Jensen



Genetically-Engineered Cotton

The Davis, California-based biotechnology firm Calgene has applied to the U.S. Department of Agriculture for permission to field test genetically engineered cotton plants at 55 sites in twelve states this spring. The proposed tests would involve well over two million cotton plants.

If approved, these tests will represent a major step toward commercialization of herbicide-tolerant plants. They will also pave the way for massive increased use of bromoxynil in cotton, a new and currently unregistered use for this herbicide.

Bromoxynil is classified by EPA as a restricted use herbicide. It causes birth defects, tumors, genetic changes, and other adverse effects in lab animals. It is readily absorbed through skin and poses serious health risks to pesticide mixers, loaders and applicators. Canadian studies document the accumulation and persistence of bromoxynil in farmers' bodies under conditions of "normal" use. Bromoxynil is also extremely toxic to several fish species. Yet Calgene characterizes bromoxynil as an "environmentally sensitive" herbicide (based on its relatively rapid breakdown time in the environment, and because it has not been detected in groundwater).

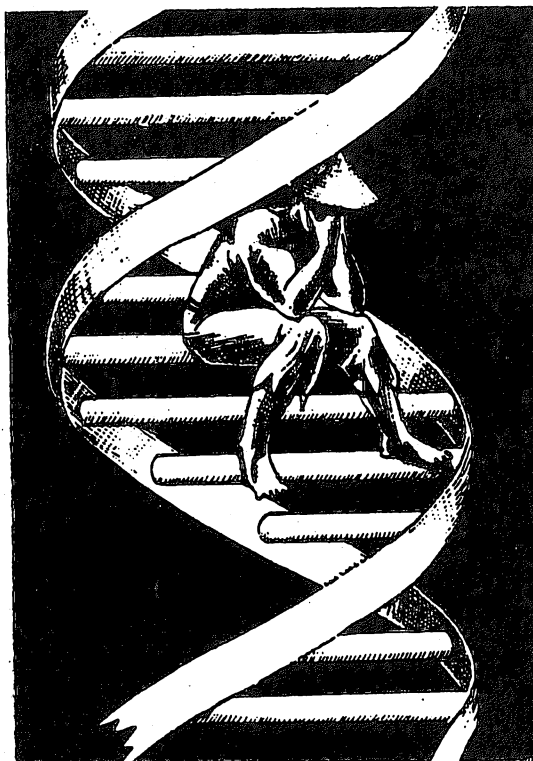
Protest the Calgene field tests and the commercialization of herbicide-tolerant plants.

Write to: Terry Medley, Director, Biotechnology, Biologics, and Environmental Protection, USDA/APHIS, 6505 Belcrest Road, Room 850, Hyattsville, MD 20782; Roger Salquist, Chair and Chief Executive Officer, Calgene, 1920 Fifth St., Davis, CA 95616; Senator Patrick Leahy, Chair of the Senate Agricultural Committee, 433 Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC 20510.

Contact: Pesticide Action Network

North America Regional Center, 965 Mission Street #514, SF, CA, 94103, (415)541-9140.

(Excerpted from PANNA Outlook, 2/91)



Navy Asks Millions of Dollars to Thwart Peace Protesters

The U.S. Navy has won, at least temporarily, yet another skirmish in the three year push to remove the anti-war vigil encamped by the railroad tracks just outside of the Concord Naval Weapons Station. The Navy has complained to Congress that it is costing them \$1 million yearly to keep the trains running through that 200 feet of county property between the two parts of the Naval base, due to the blockade. The Navy has requested \$10 million to build a concrete bridge over the road in order to avoid the blockade. Contact Nuremberg Action, (415) 868-1359.

S. H. Appleby, from the warzone of the SF Bay Bioregion.

Headwaters Grove Given Reprieve

About 100 ecologists of all affiliations crowded into the California Board of Forestry in Sacramento January 9th to encourage the state to uphold a local Department of Forestry decision to deny Maxxam Corporation's proposed timber harvest plan for the Headwaters Grove. Located in Humboldt County, the Grove is the largest unprotected grove of old growth temperate rainforest in California. Some of the trees are over 3000 years old. Many species depend on this acreage as a biological corridor between two stretches of public land.

There is only about 2% of the ancient old growth ecosystem left in California. Meanwhile, Maxxam, infamous for their irresponsible forestry, planned a "selective cut" which would exterminate 60-70% of the trees. We were happy that the board voted 5-3 to deny their timber harvest plan, allowing more time for further biological studies and for fundraising to buy the grove.

Grace Nichols, Bay Area Earth First!

Eco-Farm Conference

The Committee for Sustainable Agriculture held its 11th Annual Ecological Farming Conference mid-January in Pacific Grove, California. Some 900 people gathered for the heartwarming and intellectually stimulating yearly reunion of organic farmers and sustainable agriculturists.

Workshops were held on a multitude of subjects, such as Organic Herb Production; Rock Dust; Working the Media; Cooking with the Seasons; Land Stewardship; Urban and Rural Land Use Conflicts and Solutions; and the Farmer and the Festivals; Culture and Agriculturists. Giving the presentations were growers from farms with names like Good Humus Produce. Veritable Vegetables and Stone Free Farm.

Denis Hayes, of Earth Day and Green Seal, and economist and futurist Hazel Henderson spoke at the plenary sessions.

Mary Marvin Porter
Santa Barbara CA



Green Organizing For The 1990s

Building A Base For Social Ecology

Kathryn Cholette

Arguments have been made for and against forming Green Parties. I would like to contribute some critical thoughts to this debate which explain why, after helping to develop the Green Party of British Columbia and after two years as Federal Leader of the Green Party of Canada, I am leaving the party. Green parties in Canada and elsewhere are facing major internal conflict. I will argue that the Green movement does not presently have the ideological unity to support such parties and therefore it is important for greens to face this problem and to clarify their strategy.

I once said that I would never leave the party. At that time, I thought a party organization was the appropriate vehicle for people focusing on the development of ecological politics. Because political campaigns expose the general public to ecological ideas, I also believed that the electoral process provided an opportunity to carry out the crucial task of movement-building.

For me, our core work must be to increase understanding of the environmental crisis and must be based on a recognition that global environmental degradation results from the way industrial society is culturally, economically, and politically organized in both its capitalist and centrally planned socialist forms. In this sense, I believe the Green analysis must be a social analysis. I am a social ecologist.

This social analysis is based upon an understanding of the ideological forms (media, educational, familial, economic, geographic etc.) which socialize and condition human beliefs, attitudes, and behavior.

Our social and cultural institutions limit and distort our understanding of how our way of



life affects the planet. They condition us to accept as natural very destructive behaviors and beliefs, and yet we must transform these very practices. Even when we recognize the need for changes, and want to make them, the rigidity of our institutions and the psychological barriers to change posed by cultural determinants make positive transformation very difficult. Because of these factors, which are fundamental to the environmental crisis, people cannot be simply coerced into change regarding the environment. There is a need for institutions which support the deep personal changes required to save the planet. The earth can only be protected when human growth and development occur through institutions which promote personal creativity, rather than materialistic values, and which emphasize social connection and the care of the earth.

This dialectic between personal and institutional change is incredibly difficult and complex. When I joined the Green Party I saw it as a tool for creating a new form of politics which would address this complexity by fostering change on all levels—the personal, the interpersonal and the insti-

tutional. The point is not to reduce one level to any of the others. For example, personal change alone will not solve this crisis but the crisis can not be solved without personal change. Thus, I thought the party would address the deep causes of environmental degradation, in contrast to the narrower solutions so often associated with activism around single issues, by building its internal processes as well as its policies and

platform on a powerful synthesis of the theories and practices developing in the environmental, feminist, peace, Native, social justice, international development, and personal development movements.

Sadly, I have come to realize that many in the party do not share this view. In fact, infighting over party direction has inhibited strategy and policy development and has prevented the party from becoming an effective agent for change. This inability to reach agreement is complicated and difficult to analyze. But, in my experience it was possible to loosely define two opposing groups—those who wanted a mainstream party which would concentrate on seizing control of the existing power structures, and those who wanted the party to work on delegitimizing the present system while promoting alternative political institutions. The former is merely a techno-fix solution which focuses on change from the top, the latter recognized that the present political structures are part of the problem. Obviously, this is a serious conflict which is not simply a stage in the

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International Views On the Way Forward

The Future of the German Greens

Petra Kelly

The defeat that the West German Green Party suffered on Dec. 2, 1990 left us sad, stunned, bitter and, as ever, divided. Having won 8.3 percent of the vote in 1987, we dropped to just 4.8 percent in 1990, below the 5 percent threshold necessary to secure seats in the parliament.

In East Germany, which was counted as a separate electoral area, the coalition of our independent and Green friends was able to attain a little more than 5 percent of the vote. This gives them eight members in the new united parliament, but not enough to form an effective parliamentary faction.

As one major American newspaper correctly put it, "the world's most prominent environmental party has become an endangered species after German voters lobbed the Greens out of the new united nation's first parliament."

Many analysts remain skeptical about our ability to make a comeback. In my view, the Green Party has only a very small chance to learn from its past mistakes. Unless we begin accepting the fact that political programs are communicated to others by human beings, each with his or her strengths and weaknesses, there will be no comeback.

I believe we have not failed in political terms but in human terms. It was not so much the radicalism of our agenda that failed as it was the divisive way in which we practiced our internal politics.

The rules aimed at hindering a professional party leadership and the endless power struggles that ensued between the dogmatic left-wing members of the party, the pro-Social Democratic, compromise-oriented "Realos," and the centrist faction ultimately resulted in a very large loss of credibility

among Green voters.

This eternal bickering drove our supporters into other camps. It was reported, for example, that some 600,000 of our younger voters fled to the Social Democrats, who under Oskar Lafontaine, took on a greenish hue during the election.

Our defeat was all the more stunning because we believed the 1990s would be the Green decade. After all, we had been proven right about so many things, as demonstrated by Chernobyl, Bhopal and the Exxon Valdez.

Moreover, the West German Green Party had been the only party that main-

willing to make contact with independent citizen groups in the East.

And then the East German revolution came. As Christmas approached in 1989, voices on East German streets began chanting, "We are one people," and West German flags began to appear there. What everyone expected to take 10 years took instead 10 months.) Of course, the dramatic change in direction of the German revolution of 1989 stemmed from money, not conscience.)

Despite the fact that a large majority of Germans welcomed reunification, the Green party remained an honest and necessary voice of warning. We recommended policies of self-restraint and demilitarization; we hoped for a referendum and a passionate public debate on the new German constitution.

The Green Party proposed including a reference to the Holocaust in the preamble of the Unification Treaty, and we spoke about the need to compensate those forced into labor

under the Nazi regime. We spoke up about the increasing acts of anti-Semitism in Germany and opposed the new governmental regulations stopping Soviet Jews from coming to Germany.

We also spoke for the victims of the East German State Security System (Stasi), who have been forgotten to this very day, even though the same Communist judges and state lawyers still sit in their offices—without worrying about losing their jobs and

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tained continuous and close contact with the independent citizen groups in East Germany and the rest of Eastern Europe—groups that initiated the collapse of the regimes there during 1989.

Together with them, we developed a vision for a non-aligned, demilitarized and denuclearized Eastern Europe.

At the same time, out of fear of upsetting Erich Honecker and the Communist Party machinery, no other party—the Social Democrats, the Free Democrats or the victorious Christian Democrats—had been



Canada

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development of a young organization. It represents major differences in beliefs about the world and how it operates, and also, I think, about human nature.

I found that many of the people who wanted a mainstream party blamed environmental degradation on human nature. This belief assumes that people have a fairly predetermined nature or at least, that it is almost impossible for people to move away from their socialization. And it demonstrates a lack of understanding of the social ecological perspective which recognizes cultural determinants and works to change them. In my experience, Greens with these deterministic ideas regarding human nature tended to support strategies related to their beliefs. For example, they often promoted mechanistic means (such as laws, regulations, taxes, subsidies, the market mechanism, and most significantly, centralized mainstream political institutions) to create and maintain an ecologically sound world. This position contrasted sharply with the beliefs of the social ecological perspective.

The social ecological perspective also recognizes the value of people working within the existing political structures on environmental issues. Such work can focus attention on the environment. Taxes, fines, subsidies, laws and regulations facilitate change while impeding destruction of the planet. But such factors have a limited effect and are just one tactic of truly ecological politics.

The goal of working to obtain power can be questioned on many levels. First, it is impossible to imagine how Green Parties can overcome, through the electoral process alone, the influence of the existing power structures which are putting tremendous re-

sources into co-opting the environmental movement and overcoming public fears through the Greening of capitalism. How could it ever come to power? Secondly, if the party did get elected it would face tremendous undermining efforts by the power structures. The economic turmoil that would result, plus the changes which the state would



demand in an effort to deal with the environment, would eventually lead to a loss of public support. An unprepared public would resist state demands. Thirdly, a Green government would find itself unable to deal with the extent of change through the existing political structures. Everyone needs to be involved in a transformation of this magnitude, and we need the political structures which facilitate this involvement. Therefore, I argue, that for effective change, we must begin with social movement activities which inform and motivate people and allow them to take part in the development of this substantial change.

Yet Greens who wanted such a mainstream party repeatedly challenged the social ecologists with the claim that there was not enough time to build a movement and

change the entire system. Their tactic was to achieve power in order to reorganize the economic and political institutions which are environmentally destructive. These basic Green principles regarding grass roots participation and decentralization were challenged. The denial of feminist values and process was particularly destructive. They were not willing to take the time to experiment and work through the difficulties of creating non-hierarchical, non-patriarchal processes and structures. Moreover, movement building was shunted aside when they insisted that the party's policy had to be softened to make it appeal to voters. Under these circumstances the Green Party can not be relied upon to put forth a call for fundamental change at the cultural, social, economic and political levels.

For social ecologists there is not only a concern that movement building is impeded by these struggles, but also a fear that Green parties are going to increasingly appeal to environmentally concerned people who do not have a social ecological analysis. Under these circumstances, the Green party is likely to become just a reform party. My belief in the likelihood of this occurring, compounded with my other concerns about internal party conflicts, forced me to leave the party. My decision to abandon opportunities to build the movement by informing the general public through the electoral process, has made me seek other means to promote the social ecological perspective.

Presently, I am with the Tin Wis Coalition which is working in British Columbia to deepen understanding of the underlying causes of the environmental crisis. This coalition is uniting Native, environmental, labour, community development, and other groups around environmental and social concerns. Although Tin Wis is only in its formative stages, its members are clear in their goals; they are presently working against the capitalist corporate agenda and promoting community control, ecological sustainability and social solidarity.

In British Columbia and in Manitoba, Greens with this perspective are planning

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ecological institutes. Among other projects, these institutes will organize weekend ecology schools at community centers and night school programs which will put forth social ecological ideas. This work will strengthen the grassroots movement.

There are also possibilities for grassroots movement building which do utilize the electoral system but, I stress, for movement building. In this regard, some Greens have been considering the possibility of creating political parties which are structured to conform to the values and principles of the social ecological perspective. In Britain I met Greens who were considering the possibility of severing their local Green Party's connection with the electorally focused National party. In this way they could focus on local movement building.

In Canada, one civic party, called Ecology Montreal, has set an example of another possibility. Although this is still very speculative, greens in different centers are thinking about forming a network of independent civic Green parties. These civic parties could build the movement by working to enhance neighborhood awareness on many issues. Also, by exploring the the concepts of radical municipalization, they could develop structures which give communities control over decisions which impact on them. A network of these parties could begin to develop methods of participatory democracy at the grassroots level thereby giving people the opportunity to control issues presently under the jurisdiction of provincial and federal levels of government.

I think the establishment of a network of civic parties could be a good movement building tool. Unlike presently constituted Green Parties, these civic ecology parties would be structured according to the crucial social ecological principle of decentralization. But, there is nothing in the structure of decentralization which guarantees adherence to feminism, grassroots participation, social justice and other concepts of ecological sustainability. Even within a decentralized structure, there is a danger that electoral concerns will again become the focus.

Therefore, while the intent of these civic parties has potential, they would only be meaningful if they represent a concerted effort to concentrate on social ecological

German Greens

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without having to search their souls.

We protested that, more than ever, Eastern and Western Europe were sucking resources out of the South, and in return exporting toxic waste, polluting industry and a new and even more brutal consumerism.

But we were barely heard. The drumbeat of German reunification led by Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher drowned out all other sounds.

No one chose to listen to our revelations that Germany had become a merchant of death, with more than 100 German companies exporting—legally and illegally—immoral weapons to Iraq and other parts of the world. No one cared to listen when we pointed out that, while a new era of East-West cooperation was about to flower, a new ice age had arrived in the Third World.

The more we tried to raise these issues, the more internal differences in the Green Party came to the forefront. Voters were turned off by our self-defeating political style, and the entire electoral campaign became dull and uncreative.

Even though the West German Green Party may not survive in its present condition, I believe our questions and solutions, and our agenda for the ecological and non-violent transformation of society, are perma-

instead of environmental politics. Rather than attempting to achieve power, as mainstream civic parties do, these parties could work to create new political structures which encourage participation. People who advocate these structures believe that if such parties begin with a clear platform outlining a holistic strategy, they will only attract people who share their perspective. Hopefully this would be the case. But past experience does not support such optimism. For example, the Green Party of Canada's purpose, as stated in the constitution, is that the party is the political voice of the "movement" but still many members insist that the party focus on electoral politics.

We can not afford such conflict; my fear is that social ecologists will continue to waste

time in disputes with electoral minded Greens. For the present, my tendency is to encourage the formation of non-electoral, movement building organizations which demonstrate the social ecological perspective. Appropriate political institutions can grow organically out of this work when the movement has reached a position of strength.

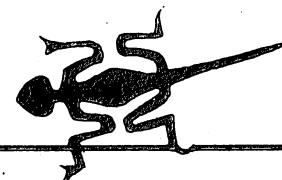
Ultimately, we need a social movement on a scale that has never existed in history. Movement activities can delegitimize the present system and create an informed society which understands how we can live ecologically. Every tactic must be aimed at building the movement. How can we counter the power of the system without a mass movement of people demanding change?

We came into parliament in 1983 rightly embracing a double strategy of nonviolent action outside electoral politics and effective participation within parliament. We came attempting to transform politics of power from above into politics of power from below.

We hope to persuade others of the need for eco-justice — that is, a balance of environmental sustainability and economic equity. One of our first priorities was to try to transform the mentalities of consumerism and economic growth into a sense of the need for conservation. Conservation must replace consumption as the driving force.

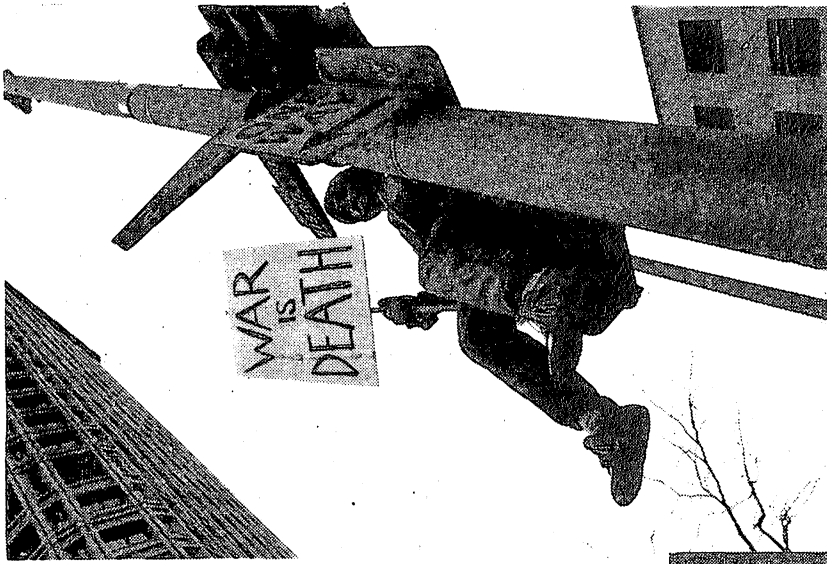
The West German Green Party was and is about "enough"; not about the "more and more" that drives the unified Germany. We were trying to develop a basic ethic of restraint so that people could live without degrading themselves or their environment.

In the 1990's, Germany and the whole world will need such an ethic. As to the future of the Green Party itself, our internal distrust of each other must stop. How can anyone else learn to trust us if we so mistrust ourselves? □



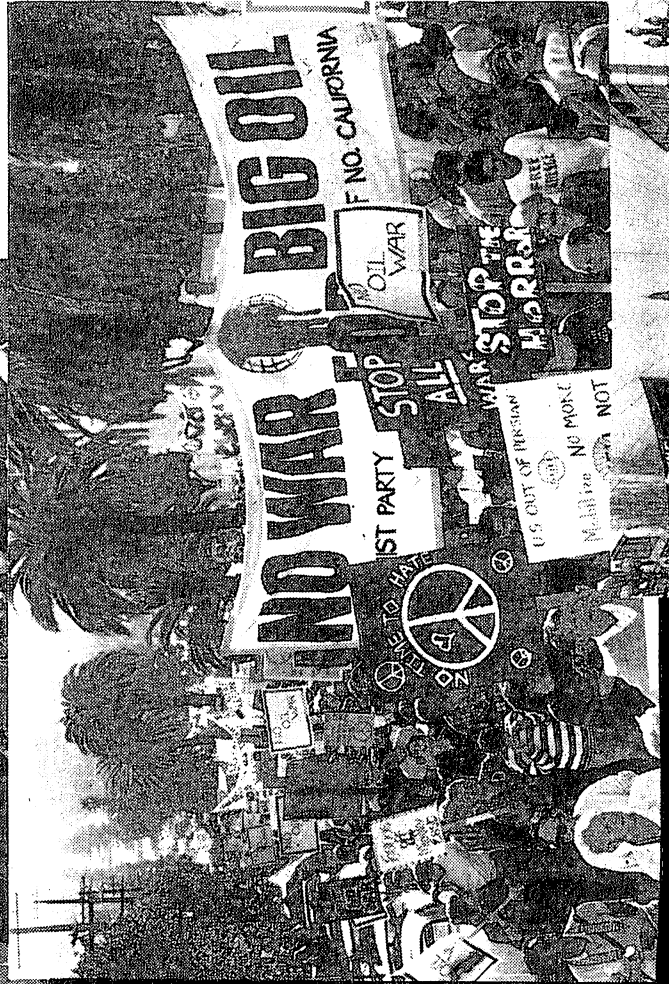
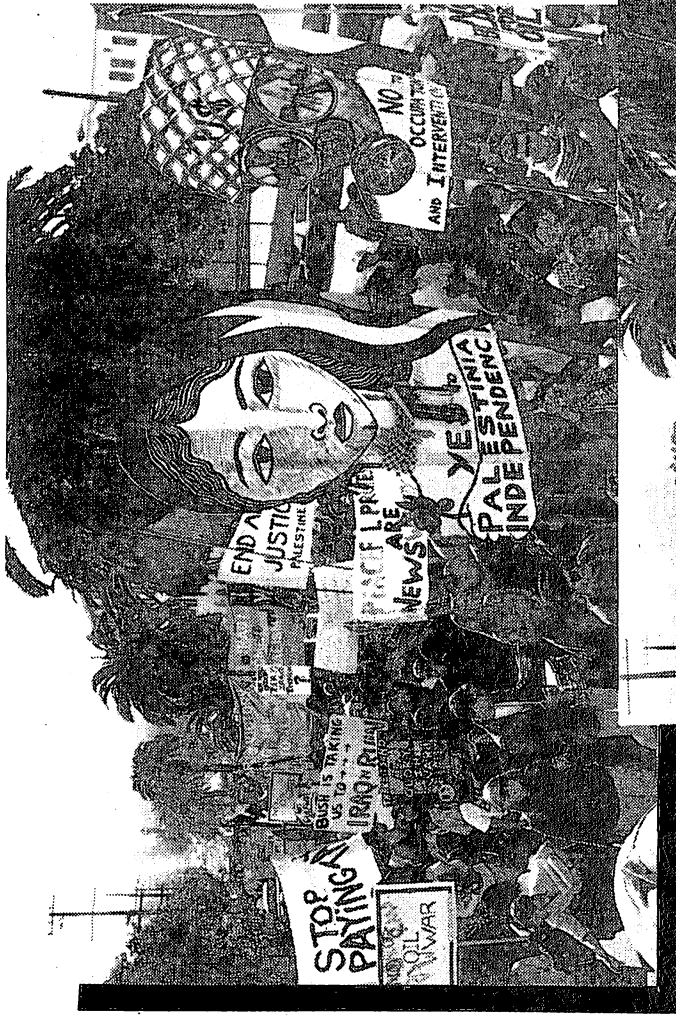
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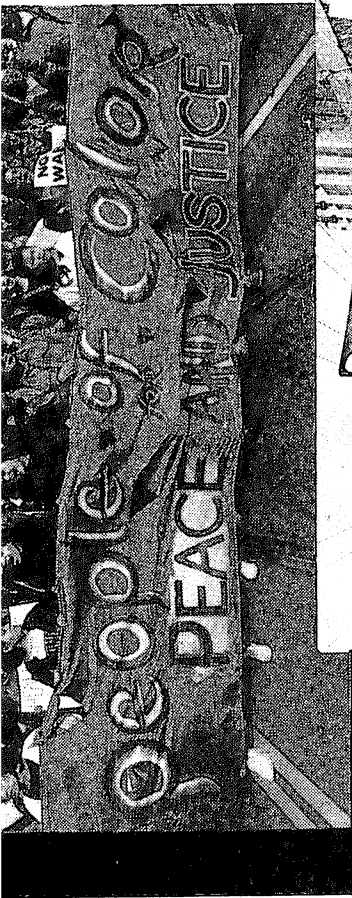
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Upper right: Seattle, by Dana Shuerholz;
Diagonal march: San Francisco January 19, by
Keith Holmes; Lower left: Milwaukee vigil, by
Paul D. Schneider.

We've been too busy protesting to design a
Green Almanac for this issue. The Almanac or
something similar will return next issue.







International Resistance

continued from page 6

tion was held in Montreal, with about 10,000 people in attendance. Recruiting offices have been occupied in Edmonton and Hamilton. A teach-in at the University of Alberta campus attracted over 300 people, and 2500 people joined a recent peace vigil.

* **China:** Arab students were refused a permit to hold an anti-war protest in Beijing.

* **Czechoslovakia:** In Prague, 150 anti-war demonstrators organized by Palestinian students called for withdrawal of Czech support for the war.

* **Denmark:** There have been several peace vigils at the U.S. embassy. In the biggest one 1500 people participated.

* **Djibouti:** The Interior Ministry said protests which took place on January 19 were "prejudicial to the security and peace of the Republic" and banned all further demonstrations over the war.

* **Egypt:** The government imposed a visa requirement for citizens of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco because of the mass protests in those countries against Egypt's role in the war. The government also extended the mid-year holiday for university students in an apparent attempt to prevent student led protests against the war. Still the opposition of fundamentalists and intellectuals against the government is getting stronger. Mass arrests of leaders have begun, and the only paper to openly oppose the war has been threatened with closure.

* **Finland:** There have been several demonstrations supporting the Baltic States. Recently there have also been peace vigils in front of the U.S. embassy.

* **France:** An estimated 80,000 demonstrated January 17-18. The trade union federation asked workers to start assemblies, debates, consultations and strikes in response to the outbreak of war. Demonstrations have continued in all major French cities. Protesters in Chambéry held up a train transporting materials to U.S. troops in the Gulf. Many marchers sported yellow badges quoting French poet Jacques Prevert saying: "War, what a folly." Teenage protesters chanted, "Mitterrand, you are too old to play Rambo." The protesters also called for an interna-

tional conference to solve the problems of the Middle East.

* **Greece:** More than 10,000 people marched through Athens to the U.S. Embassy on January 24 to protest U.S. and Greek involvement in the Gulf, and to call for an end to the war.

* **Hong Kong:** 60 people participated in a candlelight vigil for Middle East peace in Hong Kong's Central District January 21.

* **India:** 1,000 anti-war demonstrators outside the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi were dispersed by police using tear gas on January 18. In Delhi's old city, police wielding long canes charged to prevent pro-Iraqi Moslems from halting traffic.

* **Iran:** At Tehran University, anti-American and pro-Iraqi demonstrations were held by 2,000 students, who "reflected the mixed feelings of many Iranians, who hate the Iraqi leadership but will not tolerate Western forces killing fellow Moslems."

* **Ireland:** Irish peace activists have picketed Shannon Airport since December, demanding an end to landing rights for Gulf-directed U.S. military flights. On January 17, 1200 people attended an all-day rally in Dublin. Additional rallies have been held outside the U.S. and British embassies as well as the foreign ministry.

* **Northern Ireland:** In Belfast, Santa Claus took a letter to the U.S. consulate the day the bombing began: "In December it's peace and goodwill, in January it's obliterate them." A daily peace vigil is continuing at City Hall and Mairead Corrigan Maguire, Nobel Peace Prize winner, has begun a 40-day fast for peace.

* **Italy:** 100,000 young anti-war demonstrators marched in Rome on January 19. Demonstrations also took place in Florence, Milan, Naples, Turin and other cities.

* **Japan:** Anti-war protesters have rallied in Tokyo, Okinawa and Osaka. Students of Tokyo University participated in demonstrations outside the U.S. Embassy. The biggest demonstration occurred on January 26, with 15,000 people in Tokyo protesting their country's financial support of the war.

* **Jordan:** Although the majority of the population is supporting Iraq there has also been a peace demonstration in Jordan. The professors of Jordan's universities marched

for peace last week.

* **Libya:** One million people, led by Col. Gaddafi demonstrated against the war and called for Kuwaiti self-determination.

* **Morocco:** All eight opposition parties have demanded that the government withdraw the forces it contributed to the war. Scheduled sports events have been canceled ahead of planned pro-Iraq demonstrations. Schools have also been closed. King Hassan has promised to decree a state of siege at the first sign of disorder, threatening that agitators will be tried by military tribunals.

* **Nigeria:** A group of demonstrators, mainly Shi'ite Moslems, were dispersed by police using tear gas at a protest against the killing of Moslems in Iraq.

* **Netherlands:** Some 500 anti-war protesters blocked traffic in Amsterdam on January 18, and clashed with police who tried to disperse them.

* **Norway:** There has been a peace vigil of 1500 people at the U.S. embassy. In general the Scandinavian people are more moved by events in the Baltic states.

* **Pakistan:** Several thousand demonstrators rallied across the country, and police in Karachi battled protesters with tear gas and batons on January 18. Pakistan has since been the site of some of the most vehement anti-U.S. demonstrations. The Pakistani government is trying to gather Arab leaders in Karachi for a peace conference.

* **South Africa:** On January 25, several thousand people in Johannesburg and 2,500 in Durban protested U.S. intervention in the Middle East.

* **South Korea:** Thousands of students rallied to protest the ruling party and U.S. involvement in the Gulf.

* **Spain:** Over 300,000 anti-war protesters have rallied across the country for several days. Thousands of students skipped class on January 23, and 10,000 marched through the streets of Barcelona to protest the war and call for the return of three Spanish warships from the allied force. In Catalonia, people have been placing white sheets with black ribbons in their windows as a protest against the war. Meanwhile the Catholic church of Spain supports the peace movement. Unions called very successfully



for a two hours strike protesting the war. The Spanish government declared that it would not consider an Iraqi response on bomb attacks flown from Turkey as a NATO defense case.

* **Sweden:** Besides demonstrations to support the Baltic states there have been several peace vigils against the Gulf War as well. About 20,000 protesters came out against the war across the country on January 26. General assemblies in Swiss universities passed resolutions against the war. An anti-war organization in Switzerland declared Geneva to be a "protection zone" for military deserters.

* **Turkey:** Nearly 2,000 Moslems protested in Istanbul on January 18 against the attack on Iraq. They later issued a statement which said that "the U.S. is trying to tarnish the beliefs and honour of the Moslem peoples." The majority of the miners are on strike. Their original demand for fair wages has become a movement against the war. A march of 50,000 miners has been stopped with massive police forces using tanks. People in east Turkey are strongly opposing German, American and Dutch forces in the region. A young woman, arrested for putting up a poster reading "No to War!" at her school faces a ten-year sentence.

* **USSR:** Hundreds of pro-Hussein demonstrators, mostly Arab, gathered in Moscow and Leningrad on 18 January to condemn U.S. and Soviet policy in the Gulf.

* **Yemen:** Two days of protests involved about 200,000 people in the capital of Sanaa.

* **Yugoslavia:** There were big demonstrations in Belgrade and in all other major cities. □

These reports on international anti-war protests were gathered from numerous sources made available to Green Letter through PeaceNet. Thanks to Peter Murphy (Australia), Tooker Gomborg (Canada), William Arkin & Peter Dykstra (Greenpeace), Adam Keller (Israel), F. Soeth (Student Council of Hannover University, Germany) and the many people on PeaceNet who responded to our call for information on anti-war actions.

International resistance reports were compiled by Steve Nadel.

Germany

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sies. In Stuttgart an estimated 40,000 demonstrated. In the state of Lower Saxony, the Prime Minister called for mass public participation in anti-war demonstrations. In Cologne the mustering of new military recruits couldn't take place because war resisters blocked the entrance of the building. Groups throughout the country have offered sanctuary, both to soldiers deserting from belligerent armies and any to Arab residents being victimized by the police or others. The peace movement has been distributing leaflets to soldiers and reservists appealing to them to refuse war service. A project called "Winter Holiday," organized by the Green Party, calls on U.S. soldiers stationed in Germany to leave the Army. Many have responded with offers to take soldiers into their homes. On January 21, 300 people blocked the stock exchange in Frankfurt, charging that "German stocks go up when German arms kill."

All major German universities, with the exception of Munich, were either occupied or out on strike. Students rallied to the slogan, "It's war time—boycott your usual routine." The Green Party called for resistance to military service as a response to the outbreak of war.

The day after the UN deadline expired, a brief strike occurred in Hamburg and Hannover, when all public busses, trams and underground trains stopped for five minutes. Passengers were informed that the drivers' were protesting against war. A statement by the Hannover section of the German Council of Trade Unions stated that "...Resistance is everybody's duty today, the war must not be continued! No more war—let's take the oath of Buchenwald (Nazi concentration camp) seriously! ... Show Your disgust, your resistance and your decision: Never again war—immediate negotiation at the gulf!" Students, unions, churches, the German Greens and the Social Democrats are backing up the strongest peace movement in Europe.

The biggest German demonstration so far was on January 26 where 250,000 gathered in Bonn in support of a call for a cease fire coupled with sanctions. To indicate that the protest was not anti-American, many

participants held U.S. flags; others held up the Israeli flag. "What a tragedy," said one demonstrator with an Israeli flag, "that once again the Jewish people are threatened with German gas," referring to the role of the German arms industry in developing Iraqi chemical weapons. □



Israel

continued from page 7

to their shoulders — the normal precaution taken these days by Israelis who leave their homes — several dozen Israeli peace activists gathered opposite the U. S. Embassy in Tel-Aviv, where they held a vigil protesting the Gulf War. This was the first such manifestation since the outbreak of hostilities. The slogans on their placards, in Hebrew, Arabic and English, included: "End the War!", "Enough with the Missiles, Enough with the Bombardments!", "No to Saddam, No to Bush, No to War!", "Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait, we Israelis from the Occupied Territories!", "Immediate Cease Fire!", "Immediate Negotiations!", "International Peace Conference Now!", "The Patriot can save our skins—only peace can give us a future!", "No to Israeli Intervention," "No Blood for Oil," "Security = Peace!", and "We don't want to be your victims!"

The organizers of the demonstration sent a message of support and solidarity to the coalition of American peace organizations, due to hold a demonstration in Washington on January 26. It stated: "For us, who live under constant threat of the Iraqi missiles, the end of this mad war is not only a matter of political principle, but a matter of physical survival as well. We wish you success in your anti-war struggle, which we regard as our own."

For additional details, call Adam Keller at phone 972-(0)3-556-5804. □

Missoula Greens Take Lead in Anti-War Organizing

Missoula, Montana. Nestled in the Rocky Mountains, this town is the home of a small state university, a town gripped in a struggle between shrinking timber interests and conservationists. But Missoula activists have shifted focus. They have taken the lead in opposing the war in the Persian Gulf.

Resistance to the war began early, and nearly constant pressure has been kept up. Missoula has a long history of peace activism, dating back at least as far as World War I, when it elected Jeannette Rankin as the first woman to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives. Rankin's first vote in Congress was against entry into that war, and she later cast the only vote against World War II. In addition to its activist tradition, western Montana has a high percentage of Vietnam veterans. And many families have sons or daughters serving in the Persian Gulf.

The local Greens were the first to respond, beginning with flyers on October 1st making a connection between the Gulf crisis and U.S. energy policy. They adopted the slogan "No Blood for Oil," and on October 12 sponsored a teach-in and an action called "Pedal for Peace," a march through town which involved more than 100 bicyclists. A few dedicated cyclists have made the Pedal for Peace a weekly event.

The Greens urged environmentalists to oppose the war. The Badger-Two Medicine Alliance, for example, is seeking to protect as wilderness a section of the Rocky Mountain Front. A U.S. Forest Service internal document, recently leaked, detailed a "Proposed Strategy for Mitigating the Persian Gulf Situation." This is a plan to expedite oil drilling in controversial areas by eliminating the usual process of public hearings in light of the emergency in the Gulf.

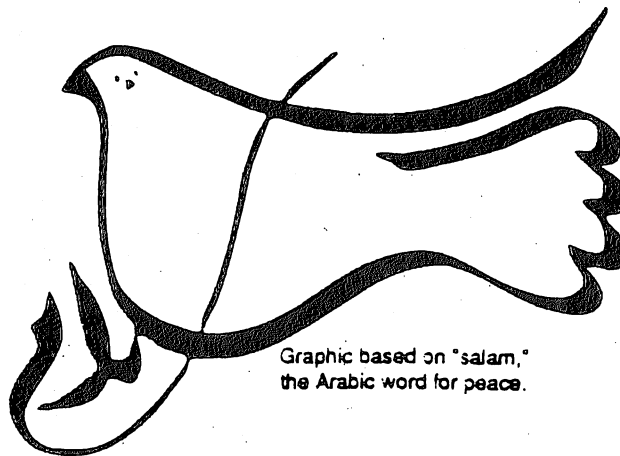
Student Organizing

The student chapter of the Green Alliance joined more than a dozen other campus groups, including three fraternities, in a

Coalition for Student Responsibility. Student response was large and quick. On October 30 students held a Speak-Out, with an open mike on campus. Hundreds filled the University Center while people spoke out. Most expressed opposition to the military build-up, though a few Reservists and ROTC cadets members spoke in favor of the U.S. presence in the Gulf. Many who spoke were not students. John Vollerston, a veteran, recalled that when he returned from Vietnam and came to the Montana campus, he "found a bunch of long-haired hippies" protesting the war. "I look out here today," he continued, "and see it all over again. You may be the second generation. I love it."

The next day, Halloween, 600 people marched in one of the largest campus dem-

onstrations yet held. The crowd was spirited, marching through town chanting "No Blood for Oil" and "Hell No, We Won't Go for Texaco." On Nov. 14 the student senate unanimously passed a resolution opposing a violent solution in the Gulf, the first student government in the country to do so.



Graphic based on "salam," the Arabic word for peace.

Since the Halloween demonstration, the activists have stayed at it and more groups have become involved. Concerned people flood the local peace clearinghouse, the Jeannette Rankin Peace Resource Center, with telephone calls about the crisis. "We want the pressure to be relentless," said Anita Doyle of the Rankin Center before the war began. "We feel we need to come at them from all angles, that if there's any chance to stop this, we have to do it now."

The Greens shared in the several marches, numerous forums and other peace related events that took place nearly con-

stantly through early December. The diversity of the peace community allowed different groups and individuals to create a variety of actions which everyone could then participate in. This meant non-stop resistance, but without a single organization having to work non-stop to create them.

The Greens, concerned at the lack of background among the younger students, organized non-violence workshops in early January, to help with peacekeeping for the January 15 march and 24-hour vigil. The Rankin Center is currently conducting a four-part series of workshops to expand that background.

Also, the Greens organized the first Conscientious Objector training by the (at the time) only up-to-date CO counselor in the state. Since then the Rankin Center has opened a military counseling center and is conducting on-going workshops.

We called a meeting of people from the many peace groups in town in early January so that we all could share our plans and exchange information. Even so, as soon as shooting started, the inherent differences inside the movement became obvious, with some division appearing in the peace community. Of course, the media played up those differences.

The Greens organized a press conference at which several peace groups all expressed solidarity—and diversity. Since then, the Greens have decided to focus on energy and transportation issues as they relate to the war. We are calling for "parking your car for peace" in support of the troops. We have recommended that the Mayor forego use of his City car and that the City instead provide him with a bicycle, helmet and bus pass.

We continue to be concerned with movement building and networking. We are, after all, in this thing for the long haul—we are as concerned with the post-war movement as we are with simply ending the war.

Jim McGrath
Missoula Greens

(James G. McGrath is a freelance writer who lives in Missoula. Partially excerpted from "The Progressive" Feb. 1991)



Greens from around the country gathered in Washington DC and networked during the peace march and rally January 26. Photo by David Ellison.

Northeast Ohio Greens played important roles in arranging bus transport from Cleveland to Washington DC for the January 26 peace march. Over 600 people from the Cleveland area made the trip. Greens helped with scheduling, printing and distributing thousands of flyers, and hosting the send-off rally.

Maine Greens Announce Television Boycott Against War Coverage

We would like to see other locals consider the following action and join with us. The Maine Greens resolved to boycott the big three commercial television networks

unless we see a shift to a broader public debate on the U.S. role in the Middle East and, in particular, the Gulf crisis.

We are asking other locals to pool their

resources and take out ads in each of their local papers. The ad could be designed as a clip-out coupon. Included in the space are the addresses of the network and space to sign a name. The idea is that sympathetic readers will clip the coupon and mail it to one or more networks and dedicate themselves to boycotting all three networks.

The enclosed sample is based on what we are using. Please make any changes you feel work best for you while keeping the purpose the same. We are also writing to program sponsors expressing our intent.

History has been known to make monumental turns with more unlikely adventures than this one. Many of us who are sometime television watchers anticipate a wholesome change in our lives in any event and, who knows, we may like the change so well that the box may get booted out of our homes for good.

Steve Alsop, Maine Greens

National Television Boycott

By mailing this to the networks of my choice, I pledge to boycott commercial television until viewpoints alternative to those of entrenched interests are allowed to be articulated by opposition spokespersons and included in the national debate over the Middle East crises.

ABC
Thomas Murphy
77 W. 66th St.
New York NY 10023

NBC
Robert C. Rice
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York NY 10112

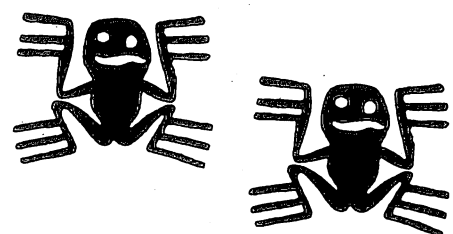
CBS
CEO
51 W. 57th St.
New York NY 10023

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

Ad paid for by:



Approves GCoC Green Restructuring Proposal Green Party Organizing Committee Meets

Twenty-three members of the Green Party Organizing Committee met in Boston, Massachusetts on February 9th and 10th. In addition to reports from about ten different electoral campaigns, a number of issues were discussed: fundraising, outreach and support, newsletter, coalition building, endorsements, and the GPOC's relationship to the Green Committees of Correspondence.

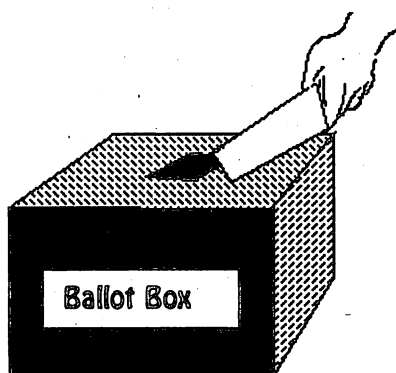
Several committees were selected, including a steering committee, an organizing committee, a "position" committee (like a program committee but with a more limited mandate), a liaison committee with the Ron Daniels 1992 campaign for president (which was not endorsed), and a fundraising committee. GPOC media spokespeople were not selected in Boston, and won't be till August immediately following the Green Gathering.

The GPOC endorsed the upcoming Green Justice conference in Atlanta, Georgia on June 29-30, and called on the Green Gathering Planning Committee to explore reciprocal cosponsorship of the Green Gathering '91 and the Green Justice conference. The GPOC will have an interim steering committee meeting in Atlanta immediately following this conference. A March '92 conference on alliance/skills-building in Kansas City was also tentatively endorsed.

Relation to GCoC Greens

The relationship of the GPOC to the Green Committees of Correspondence was discussed at length. Three members of the Restructuring Working Group—Dee Berry, Ron Natoli, and myself—argued strongly for the GPOC to remain connected with the GCoC through this restructuring. This proposal was not well-received by those in the GPOC who wanted a complete separation from the GCoC and its problems, but after formal and informal discussion and the addition of some clarifying language the

GPOC ratified the proposal as follows: "The national GPOC as gathered in Boston endorses the restructuring proposal as presented to the gathering and understands the intent of the proposal is that all Greens will be active in community-based locals, and to provide a unified voice for these locals. The Green Council, as envisioned, encompasses party and movement activity. The Council will not abridge the GPOC or state parties' abilities to issue independent statements and/or endorsements."



Some clear points of agreement were that to participate and be represented in the national organization, individuals must participate in a local with a dues structure. Card-carrying party members who are not in a local will not vote or be represented at Annual Gathering (the highest policymaking body in the Greens), but can be counted for internal GPOC issues, including representation to the GPOC side of the Green Council.

The right of the GPOC to make its own endorsements was also guaranteed. However, there was agreement that this should not lead to the abridging of Green Council

process; in other words, endorsements should at least be discussed by the body of the whole, regardless of whether either side feels that the other will likely veto. If there is agreement, the endorsement can go out in the name of The Greens (USA); if not, at least party and movement will maintain a dialog.

Some personal observations

I view the results of this weekend's meeting mostly positively. I am unhappy with the exclusion of Howard Hawkins and Guy Chichester from the meeting, and expect this unfortunate decision to come back and haunt the GPOC. However, the determination and talent of GPOC members is clear. I have no doubt that the GPOC is fully capable of prosecuting the most ambitious of agendas, with or without the GCoC. I therefore strongly speak against those who take positions on Green restructuring which would result in the GPOC going its separate way from the GCoC. The unity we can achieve through the restructuring proposal may be less than ideal to some, but it is the best we can do at this time.

I would also note that the GPOC is engaged in concrete political work, a high priority of mine, and that all of the Green electoral literature I've seen has been principled, fully in keeping with the 10 Key Values, and of the highest quality.

Charles Betz



Green Paper, the official newsletter of the Green Party Organizing Committee/USA, includes the latest news on Green Party Organizing activities. Each issue contains provocative and informa-

tive articles, book reviews, and letters from activists around the country.

The first issue (January 1991) features:

- Report from N.O.W.'s First Hearing on Third-Party Politics—by Phil Rose
- Don't Separate. "Movement" & "Party"—by Howard Hawkins
- The Odd Politics of Alaska—by Tim Feller
- Plus reports from many states and regions

If you want to participate in the Green Party Organizing Committee/USA or if you just want to keep up on Green Party goings-on around the country and the debates that are happening among GPOC members, send \$25 to: *Green Paper*, GPOC/USA, Box 39, Huntington NY 11743-1039.

Relating to Other "Third Parties"

Zvi Baranoff's letter in the Winter 1990 issue suggests that the Greens should work within existing left-of-center parties rather than attempt to secure ballot status for explicitly Green parties.

He posed the question to Greens in five states having such parties as to why they don't work within the existing parties. I am not qualified to answer in regard to four of those states, but as a founder of both the



Alaska Green Party Qualifies for Ballot

The Green Party of Alaska (GPA) with candidate Jim Sykes has won official recognition after gaining slightly more than the required three percent in the gubernatorial race. To win that recognition the state mandates qualification in the governors race. The GPA is now the first state recognized Green Party in the nation. Barred from joining gubernatorial debates before the primary, Jim Sykes emerged after winning a precedent-setting lawsuit against legislation aimed to obstruct third parties. In subsequent debates Sykes and the Greens raised issues and values important to many Alaskans. The platform, based on the Greens' ten key values, advocates responsible, sustainable development under citizen oversight, citizen-advised reapportionment, access to quality health care for everyone, and guarantees the rights of Native people and tribal governments to traditional subsistence resources.

The GPA held its first statewide meeting on November 30th in Anchorage. Twenty-five attended, representing the communities of Anchorage, Cordova, Fairbanks, Homer, Kodiak and Talkeetna. Opening remarks by Jim Sykes, and a briefing on the structure of the existing political parties by Kevin Morford, launched the par-

ticipants into a discussion of the merits of organizational alternatives. After long deliberations it was resolved to adopt a modified and more accountable Democratic Party structure. A state-wide coordinating committee will facilitate communication among communities, guide organizational work, fundraising and voter registration in the interim. A statewide convention will be held toward the end of March.

Through lobbying, referenda, public education, and supporting only candidates who strictly adhere to the values of the Greens platform, the Green Party of Alaska will shape the future of the last great state beyond the next election. For more information contact Jim Hunter of the Tanana Yukon Greens at (907) 474-4656, or call Tim Feller of the Anchorage Greens at (907) 278-7637.

Anthony Whitworth

Wisconsin Labor-Farm Party and the Wisconsin Greens I believe I can provide some insights into the Wisconsin situation.

In 1987 some of us in the Labor-Farm Party made a proposal to evolve into a Green Party. That proposal was rejected and the Wisconsin Greens was born as a new forum to explore the possibilities for Green politics.

Within a few years there were Green groups popping up around the state, while the Labor-Farm shrunk to a one-community organization.

Still there might have been room for cooperation/coalition/merger if other factors had not come into play.

Greens adopted a ten-year plan with organizing goals and a strategy of running candidates for local non-partisan office.

As we grew, our constituency had less and less in common with an old left perspective. As we elected Greens to county and town boards we found that the voters who put Greens into office did so because of an identification with our decentralist values.

I have come to believe that it will harm Green prospects to openly ally ourselves with marginal forces. We must, of course, remain open to the possibility of broadening coalitions. I, for one, am excited by the prospects of N.O.W. founding a women's party or of an independent Black candidate for President. But shotgun weddings with parties no one likes or has heard of hold little appeal.

I have written Baranoff to explain the Wisconsin situation. I hope those in the other states mentioned do the same. It is a worthwhile dialogue as long as it proceeds from the assumption that local groups are free to work as seems best to them.

Dennis Boyer

Southern Wisconsin Coordinator
Independent Greens





The Ballot Initiative: A Tool of Empowerment for the Green Movement

As the Green movement continues to take root in the U.S., frustration will inevitably be experienced as that movement attempts to enter into the electoral arena. As most U.S. Greens already know all too well, the political process in this country is very much geared toward the perpetuation of a two-party monopoly. In contrast to the system of proportional representation in several European nations which allows for participation in government by minority viewpoints, the American "winner take all" system essentially locks out third parties from elective office.

While there has been some talk about trying to move the U.S. system closer to proportional representation (and some California Greens are involved in a concrete attempt to do just that in their state), it is widely acknowledged that such an effort will probably entail much difficulty and meet with stiff resistance from the powers that be. If the U.S. Green move-

ment is going to be able to sustain any current momentum in the direction of expansion and growth, it must find some vehicle in the meantime by which it can begin to break through this stranglehold and impact the political power structure.

The Initiative Revolution

It is with this great need in mind that we wish to bring to the attention of the U.S. Green movement the political device known as the ballot initiative process. Perhaps better known to Greens on the west coast because of its more frequent use there, the ballot initiative is the most direct form of grassroots democracy that exists in the U.S.

system. What the right of initiative means is that the people of a given municipality, county, or state may collect signatures in order to place their own proposal on the ballot to be voted on by their fellow citizens.

The reason that this option of ballot initiative has been made available is to provide the people of a locality with the legal means to propose and pass their own legislation—which is totally binding—when their elected representatives have shown themselves to be out of touch with and unresponsive to the wishes of the public. In the many issue areas addressed by the Greens, and, most particularly, in the environmental field, a strong case can be made that the general public is in fact ahead of its elected represen-

tatives in terms of the perceived need for stronger legislation. The time seems ripe for a greater use of the initiative process in order to facilitate such legislation.

The U.S. Green movement is positioned almost perfectly to provide real leadership in this capacity. Our key operating principles give great emphasis to the concepts of decentralization of political power and the implementation of democracy at the grassroots, and that is precisely what the ballot initiative process is all about. Even in those cases when a ballot initiative loses, there is a tremendous amount of educating that goes on about the issue. And the good news is that this initiative process is available on a far

wider scale than most of us have previously thought. It has been known by some activists (most notably from the nuclear freeze campaign, which made intensive use of the initiative) that this process was available on a state-wide level in 23 of the states. Thanks to the pioneering research recently completed by initiative enthusiast David Schmidt and released in the excellent new book entitled *Citizen Lawmakers: The Ballot Initiative Revolution*, it is now known that 24 additional states also allow for the initiative to be used in at least some municipalities. So all told, 47 out of the 50 states (all but Indiana, Virginia, and Maryland) do allow for a binding initiative process at some level.

Implications for the Greens

The implications of this discovery should be obvious to any Green strategist. The potential is there (and the mechanism already in place) for Green activists at the local level to begin to impact the political realities of this country on a national scale. If Greens were to start maximizing their use of the initiative wherever it was available in order to begin putting across their alternative agenda for the American people, there is no question but that significant media coverage would be attracted. The Green movement would begin to develop a household familiarity just as the nuclear freeze campaign did in its coordinated use of initiatives


in the early 1980s. And, as information and strategy becomes shared from the campaigns that are successful (the reader is referred to David Schmidt's book for some very useful recommendations on how to run successful initiative campaigns), the Greens would become a political force in this country to be reckoned with.

While the long-term goal may remain to eventually run candidates and gain access to elected office through some form of proportional representation, we argue that until such time that the system does become more open to third parties, the best method by

continued on next page



Building a Coalition for Democratic Reform

green news 

People all over the world have been heartened by the surge of non-violent, democratic movements in Eastern Europe. It has created more political space in Western Europe and in the Third World.

Ironically, the U.S. (whose leadership gets to bask in the glow of these transformations and claim them as free enterprise victories) is more distant than ever from politics of inclusiveness, diversity, and pluralism.

There is always danger that U.S. activists will fall under the spell of largely irrelevant foreign models. But I would like to urge Greens to spend as much time studying Eastern Europe's solidarity, civic forum and other civic movement groups as they do the West German Greens. (Indeed, that party is now in alliance with the East German civic movement for electoral purposes.)

This article starts with the assumptions that the U.S. and its component states require fundamental democratic reform to increase participation and improve access, and that Greens can play a key role in sparking debate on such matters.

Such a debate would, at minimum, address such basic questions as proportional representation, ballot access for third parties and independents, initiative-referendum, and the appropriate mix of elective and appointive offices as well as the mix of partisan and non-partisan offices.

Not all disenfranchised groups agree on this agenda. For example, left/liberal forces have traditionally feared initiative-referendum because of a fear of populist excesses (fear of the people themselves). Other activists may favor consolidated cabinet-form governments while others look to election of all public offices or town meeting government. Party organizers may prefer the projection of identity that comes through partisan elections, while grassroots independents may prefer non-partisan elections where issues and candidate character can overcome party identification.

Greens in Wisconsin need to provide support for creation of an inclusive forum of alternative political forces. Such a forum must be open to the full range of progressive, libertarian, and populist forces and specifically include grassroots initiative-referenda groups and those working on bal-

lot access matters.

Over time this forum could move past a clearing-house role and serve to develop joint legislative and litigation strategies.

Ultimately, the forum could evolve into an explicit electoral coalition based on the common purpose of opening the system to alternative voices.

This is the point that may challenge the thinking of many Greens. The idea of sitting down in meetings with these other forces, much less running a joint slate with them in elections, will frighten many Greens. But I think our values require us to re-examine old thinking and evolve.

Naturally, such a coalition would require some groundrules to ease the concerns of all participants. First and foremost, all participating groups would retain full group sovereignty. Participation would be open to groups which would agree that electoral politics must be open to all views. Decision-making could use some modified consensus rule, combined with voting as long as those participating were not bound by decisions they oppose and could freely disassociate themselves from those decisions. Finally, it would be useful to build in the conditions of automatic disbandment of the coalition, i.e., attainment of some form of proportional representation which would allow participating groups to move past the "protest" party phase in which they are currently stuck.

Some may be surprised by the urgings of a Green Party advocate such as myself to put Greens in a bigger and possibly diluted pot. I do not raise this lightly, but am convinced that this might be the only way to move alternative political forces past the barricade that keeps them out.

Greens could do worse than to be remembered as the groups that helped get Milwaukee's Black Militia, ex-Posse Comitatus members, old socialists and young libertarians, Chippewa activists and PARR organizers to sit down and plot an end to our mutual disenfranchisement.

Dennis Boyer

Dennis Boyer is a labor lawyer who has worked on electoral reform and campaign financing. He was a former candidate for attorney general and a founder of the Wisconsin Greens.



Initiatives

continued from preceding page

which to build the Green movement is through the ballot initiative process. Meaningful legislative victories are waiting to be won, and a significant U.S. Green movement is waiting to be empowered. Not only can the experience and infrastructure gained from initiative campaigns prepare us for the candidate races we may wish to involve ourselves in down the road, but the initiative process itself can be the bridge to bring us the proportional representation system by which these candidates might actually gain access to electoral office.

The Green movement is at a critical

point in its evolution in the United States. Unless some mechanism can be found to enable it to truly start impacting this country's political structures, it is possible that much of the momentum that has been generated until now will begin dissipating as disillusionment sets in. Our movement is in need of a tool of empowerment. We must submit that this tool is already in place and available to us, and that is the ballot initiative.

Feedback to this article is warmly invited and should be sent to: Spruce/S.E. Ohio Greens, 12088 Peter Smith Road., Athens, Ohio 45701

*Spruce Houser (S.E. Ohio Greens) and
Kathy Kost (Columbus Greens)*

Green Self-Organization: Dissolving Old Social Systems to Build New Ones

Don Fitz

For almost six months, the Gateway Green Alliance in St. Louis discussed, debated and argued before agreeing that our by-laws should include a statement that:

"The major threat to life on this planet is its domination by multinational corporations and political and economic structures whose functioning requires them to place profit and short-term gain before ecological and human needs."

Though we had several views on how to identify the source of planetary destruction, we did agree on our need to create new social systems. Most of us were attracted to the Greens because we want to make fundamental changes in ways that people relate to each other, changes that will build new relationships as friends, lovers, parents, neighbors, and members of organizations, coalitions and political and economic systems.

Many Greens think of by-laws as merely a set of rules for running meetings. But by-laws do not have to be just a tedious exercise which takes time away from "real" work—they can be thought of as a written record of attempts at self-organization. Each version of by-laws describes how a group of people tries to cope with issues of responsibility, accountability, and power.

Thus, we see every gathering as practice in balancing the goal of getting certain tasks accomplished with the ever-present need to empower members. The contradiction between these goals is clear every time we select a facilitator for a General Meeting. They would certainly flow more smoothly if the same person ran things every time. Though we wanted to avoid this leader-follower dichotomy, we did not want to ask completely inexperienced people to do something as difficult as holding the reins at a General Meeting (GM). Thus, a good rule of thumb is to select GM facilitators from among those who have recently facilitated a smaller and more intimate gathering such as a committee meeting. Someone who feels comfortable doing this is a good candidate for trying it in a larger (and more rowdy) group. Though such rotation results in an occasional inefficient meeting, it is central for developing the abilities of many members, which, in the long run, strengthens the group.

Whether we intend it or not, our gatherings do "become a model for social change." There is not much point in condemning multinational corporations or governmental bureaucracies if we have nothing to replace them with. Being Green does not mean getting elected to office on a particular platform or starting a "progressive" business. It means understanding both the need to dissolve malignant social structures and the need to develop alternative, empowering social and political systems. Every Green gathering is a rehearsal for changing power relationships at work, in neighborhoods, and throughout society.

One of the key issues for us is the rotation of leadership. A universal characteristic of oppressive social systems is the maintenance of power by a few. Yet, we do not want to create a "tyranny of structurelessness" which occurs when

responsibilities are not spelled out and an informal elite arises. Informal power cliques can become tyrannical because there are no procedures for changing rules by which the group functions.

Through a series of discussions, we developed a two-part procedure for ensuring rotation of leadership: (1) officers are limited to a one year term and prohibited from being elected to any office for 6 months following the completion of their term; and (2) some officers' terms are January through December, while, others have terms of July through June.

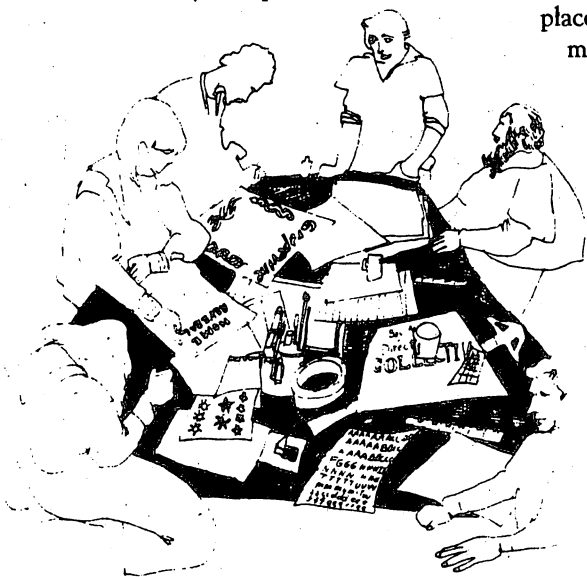
Those of us who have experience in other organizations have noticed a tendency for a couple of problems to reappear: first, "burnout" happens when someone volunteers to fill an office "just to get the group through the crisis" and later finds it turning into a lifetime commitment; and second, the group can be burned out on someone who volunteers, silently hoping that the position will be a life-time avenue to control over organizational resources.

We anticipate that making offices time-limited will result in positions being filled by those who want to share in the self-management of a group rather than control it. Since there will be people leaving and joining the Coordinating Committee every 6 months, officers will always be training others to take over their roles.

By-laws generally do not have an explicit statement of the relationship between leadership and membership. In case disagreements arise, it is important to spell out who makes policy decisions:

"Active members of the GGA have the power to determine all policy, call and endorse public actions, select and remove officers, and change the by-laws of the organization. This power is exercised at the monthly General Meetings (GM), which may delegate responsibility to committees."

In particular, it is essential to restrict the role of the Coordinating Committee (CC).



In many groups, the bulk of the work falls on a few very active people. After being required to make decisions, this small group often feels that it is their right to determine policy. Other members often resolve their guilt over being less active by encouraging officers to do whatever they wish. We attempted to use language that makes it clear that the CC "suggests," "proposes," and "recommends" rather than controls:

"The CC is responsible for coordinating the implementation of decisions made by the GM (other than decisions delegated to other committees), carrying out GGA work between GMs in ways that are consistent with its decisions, and meeting at least 14 days prior to GMs in order to (a) suggest its facilitator; (b) propose its agenda; and, (c) recommend activities and co-sponsorship of activities with other organizations."



the CC when there is little political activity going on, we make it clear that, if a large number of active participants begins to attend GMs, they always have the right to determine their own direction.

An essential part of democratic organization is that all members have the right to attend all meetings (especially those of the CC). Therefore, we require that "...all meeting locations, dates, and times must be publicized at least one week before they occur." Any "unannounced" meeting would function as a group of friends getting together to talk and would not have the power to call actions or carry out decisions.

We hope to experiment with two forms of voting, which, to our knowledge, no other Greens are trying out. Like most Greens,

GGA active members can vote at GMs and can attend CC meetings (where only officers can vote). But "at other committee meetings, active members and supporters may vote." Why allow non-members to vote at committee meetings, where most actual Green work gets done? The idea is to try out joint committee meetings with other groups (in which many Greens would be "non-members"). Many GGA members are also members of other groups working on projects identical to ours. Rather than filling our weeks with nights of redundant committee meetings, we hope to try to carry out our day-to-day work by meeting at the same time and place as committees of other groups.

Another innovation attempts to incorporate the best of both arguments in the recent debate among American Greens over consensus-or-majority decision-making. In our three-part process, a vote may carry by consensus, three-quarters agreement, or majority:

"The facilitator will ask for a simple show of hands (without debate) to determine if a majority wish to vote. Votes may have one, two or three steps (with no debate between them):

- a. First, the facilitator will ask for consensus; and if there are no objections, the vote is over;
- b. Second, if consensus fails, the facilitator will ask if three-fourths agree; and if three-fourths vote approval, the proposal passes; while if less than half vote approval, the proposal fails;
- c. If a majority but less than three-quarters favor the proposal, the facilitator will conduct a third vote, which will result in approval if a majority favor the proposal."

While this process may seem complicated, going through it a few times (and prohibiting debate between steps) should let the process function much more rapidly than occurs at some Green gatherings. Most of the times we decide something, we reach consensus. When there is a disagreement, the resulting vote is usually so lopsided that the third step would not be used. But, in those few instances that we are fairly evenly divided, the majority decision would become group policy. This will prevent the "abuse-by-interpretation" which occurs when a facilitator rules that her/his opinion is the status quo and opponents must have a 3/4 majority to overrule.

The question naturally arises, "If major-

ity rule exists, why even bother with the second step."

A good example would be a trade union divided about whether to go out on strike. With the above process, an 80% vote would carry and there would not be any third step. But a 55% "yes" vote would allow those voting for a strike to decide whether they really wanted to if almost half the union was against it. Similarly, if a Green chapter is closely divided about whether to carry out civil disobedience, interjecting the second step would force the majority to ask themselves if they really wanted such a strong action with so much internal disagreement.

Throughout our discussion of officers, there was disagreement over having a requirement that co-coordinators and co-facilitators be divided between a female and male. The tendency for organizations to slip into sexist domination by males was the motivation for the proposed correction. Many of us opposed it, feeling that a preoccupation with leadership all too often ignores the day-to-day mechanisms of oppression, such as the tendency for males to speak more at meetings. We thought that the problem could be dealt with better by systematic attempts to involve the whole group in decisions, such as facilitators' giving preference to those who have spoken the least (regardless of sex).

What we agreed upon was a requirement that "In order to enhance post-patriarchal values, the senior co-coordinator will report the number of female and male officers and committee chairpersons prior to the election of officers." This will hopefully spark a general discussion of how we are coping with power relationships between women and men every time we select officers.

Every year, we are required to re-examine the by-laws to see if they are helping us cope with structural goals we have set for ourselves. It is all too easy to assume that we are addressing sexism, democratic rights, and rotation of leadership once a set of rules are written down. But like the goal we hope to set for our entire society, we regularly question whether we are really moving in the directions we wish to go.

(If you are interested in looking at our by-laws, please write the GGA at P.O. Box 8094, St. Louis MO 63108.) □



Greens Organize "After Earth Day" Actions in Northeast

In response to a GCoC-endorsed call for a "Global Week of Ecology Action" distributed last fall by Clamshell Alliance, the Left Green Network, and the New England Green Alliance, several Green groups in the Northeast have joined in coalitions planning activities for late April.

New England

A series of actions are planned in New England for the week following Earth Day.

On Monday April 22, activists from throughout the northeast will converge on Wall Street for the second year for protest and direct action. The action is sponsored by a coalition including many Green groups.

Friday April 26—at Yankee Atomic Corporation, Framingham MA

Saturday April 27—at Vermont Yankee, Brattleboro VT

Sunday April 28—at Pilgrim Nuclear Power Plant, Plymouth MA

The actions are sponsored by the "Don't Waste New England" coalition, including New England Green Alliance and the Clamshell Alliance. For more information, contact Howard Hawkins, (802) 295-1544.

New York State

A series of actions the week after Earth Day in New York state will focus on various social themes:

Monday April 22—Wall Street Action

Tuesday April 23—Education and Youth

Wednesday April 24—Solid Waste

Thursday April 25—Social Ecology and Human Rights

Friday April 26—Energy, with a focus on the James Bay Project

Saturday April 27—Anti-war

Sunday April 28—Anti-nuclear

For more information on these events, contact Brian Hatch, (518) 767-9721.

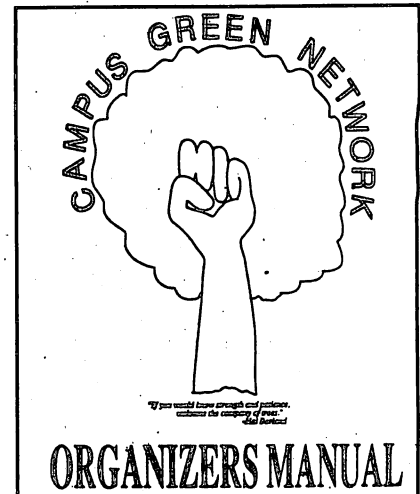
Campus Greens Publish Organizing Manual

The Campus Green Network Organizing Manual has been designed to allow any person to single-handedly set up a club on campus and get things rolling. As Greens, our activism is limitless. Whether your personal focus is the environment, homelessness, racism, animal abuse, or democracy, the Greens are working on your problems.

Included in this manual is everything you need to know in order to have an active Campus Green club at your school. Pages have not been numbered, so that you can copy them and distribute them. If you have questions, please feel free to ask. Also enclosed are a few sample flyers for the Campus Greens at various schools.

Student activism is on the rise again as evidenced by the turnout of over 8,000 students at the Catalyst conference in Illinois last October. Worldwide, students are abandoning apathy and standing up for what is right. *Help us help ourselves by getting active!*

This manual is seen as a continuing



project. If you have any input on how to make it more effective, please let us know!

For a copy of the *Campus Green Network Organizing Manual*, send \$4 to the SoCal Campus Greens, 142 Hollister Ave, Santa Monica CA 90405, or call (213) 31-GREEN.



Milwaukee anti-war vigil. Photo by Paul D. Schneider

Greens in Chapel Hill Propose War Sanctuary

The Orange County Greens of North Carolina submitted a proposal to the Chapel Hill Town Council in late January to make the city a sanctuary, not only for those resisting military induction or service, but also for tax resisters and civil disobedience protesters. 200 people turned out to support the proposal, but the Council refused to consider it.

Orange County Greens are also organizing Earth Day activities for the week of April

21-27.

Thanks to Liz McGeachy, Orange County Greens, 133 Windsor Circle, Chapel Hill NC 27516.

The Northeast Ohio Greens joined in supporting a delegation of Sioux medicine men on a spiritual trip to the Middle East in quest of world peace. For more information, call (216) 523-1600.

Corporation or Community?



People in New England, in the USA and world wide seem to be unaware that we are facing economic and environmental collapse. (Ecolapse) No one wants to face the trends and directions of the past 20 years. Everyone thinks that the "goose will continue laying golden eggs." But the golden goose is dead. The earth and the poor can only take so much abuse from the greedy, the mindless and the violent. Human arrogance and lovelessness is apparent everywhere. Without a radical change in attitude, lifestyle and technology, humanity faces a bleak future. And we continue to live in corporate addiction. We collect interest on stock, bonds and bank accounts, eat agribusiness-poisoned food, continue to kill the air and water, trees and the poor. We are an elitist society, and we "Greens" have a very low image of what a Green or sustainable future looks like. We continue to pull slivers while dying of heart disease and cancer.

It's clear that the alternative to corporate con-

glomerate, military oligarchy is *community* self-reliance, local soft technology, food production and culture. Instead, we go to war with Wall Street and styrofoam, nuclear power, and work to elect a "Green" governor; as if anyone in politics has any real power. Remember JFK... the politician who stood against monopoly capitalism. Greens have a great vision but a very naive idea about how to transform greed, monopoly and ecolapse. If we should fall into deep depression this winter or even in the next

five to ten years, could we sustain life locally? Local culture and economy are essential to the 10-key values. To date, no one wants to create the Green alternative economy or socio-political order in any bioregion. When will we as Greens take current events seriously? I pray to god, we have some time before corporate insanity, "cheap" oil and nuclear technology do us in. I hope Greens can get serious enough to envision and manifest local sustainability

before it's too late. Monopoly manipulation will not lead us to health, fair distribution, freedom, etc. It's up to us. *We are the vision, we are the means!* If not those *Green in spirit*, then greed and power, racial arrogance and violence will lead us into deeper and deeper disintegration. You can't reform greed, it must be eliminated.

It's time to propagate holistic locals, Green conservancy, community landtrusts, and communal economy politics.

Namasté Greens
Barnstead Greens



GCoCer Offers Perspectives on Visit with European Greens

Mike Feinstein of the Los Angeles Greens spent six weeks in Europe last year on a fact-finding tour that included representing the GCoC Greens at the meeting of the European Green Parliamentarians. He visited Green Parties in twelve nations.

Feinstein has put together a 300-page account of his experiences, including interviews, impressions, platforms and personalities. *Six Weeks with European Greens* is available for \$8 plus \$1.50 postage, c/o R&E Miles, PO Box 1916, San Pedro CA 90733. Fifty cents from each copy sold will be donated to the travel fund of the International Work Group to sponsor future GCoC delegates.

West Virginia Says Yes to Mountain Air, No to Mega Dump

October 20th was a bright, sunny afternoon at the Barbour Co. fairgrounds where a crowd of 2,000 people listened to the "Mountain Aid" concert and demonstrated their support for the area's citizens opposing the ERMS megadump. Music by Stark Raven, Stewed Mulligan and many others cheered the crowd and hot air balloon rides gave a bird's-eye view of the wonderful fall foliage.

West Virginia Greens staffed an information table, gave out lots of newsletters, signed up several new members and had a great

time, too. Local voters downed the dump on November 6!

Let's all celebrate this successful grassroots effort to induce a little sanity and local control into the mad rush to fill West Virginia up with out-of-state garbage.

Contact the West Virginia Greens at PO Box 144, Pullman WV 26421.





The Importance of Green Politics as Value-Based Politics

Green politics is often referred to as value-based politics. In Germany, this is based on the four pillars: non-violence, ecology, grassroots democracy and social justice. In the U.S. the Green Committees of Correspondence have their ten key values and various local groups, such as those in Wisconsin have worked out their own set of key values, different from those of the CoC nationally. I want to show why a focus on key values is an important departure from traditional politics, especially Left politics. I am writing as a signatory of the Left Green Call, but I believe that its set of principles is inadequate. Part of that inadequacy is in retreat away from a set of key values to a complicated set of principles with much less general applicability.

Values and Issues

Key values are first a shorthand way of encapsulating the goals of our movement. But their significance as an organizing tool goes far beyond mere convenience of presentation. Value-based politics is in fact a departure from some of the narrow issue-based modes of organizing which have been common on the Left. Values can reflect a broader and more flexible method of outreach to people. They represent the attempt to build a movement on a broader spectrum of life concerns than have been traditional. They should be broad enough to enable us to provide a common framework to guide people around almost any issue that might come up.

Key values can also serve as a check on opportunism in the movement by always keeping a succinct guide to action in ready view. This can aid in keeping leadership accountable.

Nevertheless, having key values is not an assurance of unanimity. Part of their importance is the debate they will stimulate within the movement as to how they will be interpreted in the course of events. This may result in more regional and local sets of Green key values to reflect our respect for diversity within the Green movement.

Although many people we are trying to reach may only agree with some of our key

values initially and not with others, this presents a great educational opportunity. We can use these situations to try to show people the organic relationship between the values—how each key value is implied by the others. This can provoke greater understanding of the interrelationship of different values, issues and situations.

The Role of Consciousness

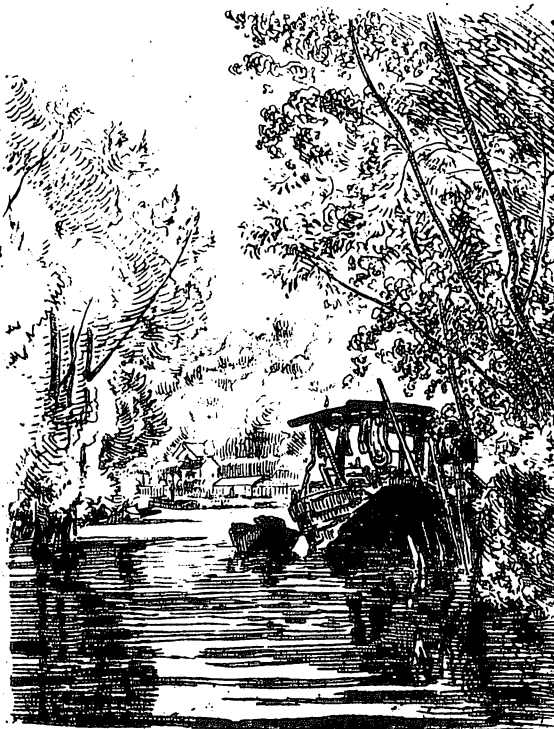
Now I want to get to the most important aspect of key values. They represent a departure from the traditional economic reductionist or materialist attitudes of much of the

opportunity to re-examine the failings of traditional attempts at social change, and goes deeper and in more personal directions. "Personal," as I am using it is not counterposed to "social" or "historical." They are intimately intertwined, and can only be perceived by engaging people's personal experience and self-knowledge.

Left politics and orthodox Marxism, specifically, have never recognized the primacy of personal transformation in social and historical change. Marxist theory did not have a sophisticated psychological or spiritual dimension to complement its socio-

historical insights, which therefore remained incomplete. Left politics became subject to false deterministic, one-dimensional interpretations of reality. For example, the whole idea in the Trotskyist transitional program of a separation between "objective conditions" and the "subjective mood of the masses" reflects a false separation between feeling and socio-historical reality. Any new world view needs to go beyond this outmoded split between subjectivity and objectivity.

Green politics is one expression (among many) of the need for an accelerated evolution of human consciousness, self-knowledge and emotional awareness as the new foundation for any external social change that is to be lasting and genuine. They are an essential element of the new worldview we are trying to live by and not a mere convenience or historical accident we have inherited.



Left. The Green focus on key values implicitly recognizes and reprioritizes the autonomous and independent role of consciousness in transforming the world. This is a major watershed. I believe they come closer to embodying the richness and complexity of human experience than do traditional Left programs of ideas. The reorientation of the need to transform consciousness in order to change the world is essential to both traditional and New Age views of change, to the human potential movement and to the feminist movement. The focus on values in Green politics, quite apart from the ecological content and the ecological crisis, offers a great

The idea of building a movement that is decentralized and radically democratic corresponds to basing such a movement more on a shared consciousness—or shared values—than on mechanistic organizational forms. This suggests that a focus on key values, which corresponds more to the network model of social organization (see "What Is a Network? A Model of Structure and Process" in *Networking: the First Report and Directory*, by Jessica Lipnick & Jeff Stamps, 1982), is one basic element in the avoidance of hierarchy and of traditional alienation

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Green Gathering 1991

green news



Plans for the 1991 Green Gathering are taking shape. The next gathering will be held at Davis and Elkins College, in Elkins, West Virginia, August 16th thru the 21st. Davis and Elkins College is well known as the host of the annual five-week Augusta folk music festival. Elkins is a center for

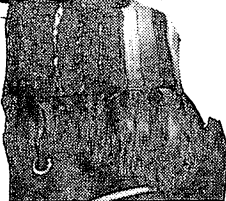
Appalachian folk culture and is located in a particularly beautiful area of WV. Planners expect to schedule in free time to be sure we all get to replenish our spirits and connect not only with one another but with the place we are in. There will be time for hikes and canoe trips.

Key Values

continued from preceding page

and bureaucracy in both Left political organization and the two mainstream parties.

**NO
BLOOD
FOR
OIL**



The traditional strategic approach to politics on the basis of constituencies is very limited. "Constituencies" are usually role- or behaviour-defined. The view of consciousness implied by this is very narrow and mechanistic, or behavioristic. Shared values stresses the unique power, freedom and responsibility of both individual and collective human consciousness, and its ability to transcend external behavioral roles. It is only sudden, qualitative shifts in consciousness which are the true basis for qualitative social changes in role behavior. This does not detract from the importance of class, race and sexual oppression. But it does suggest that their true significance can only be apprehended within a broader and less reductionist framework of oppression and life-experience.

Mike Wyatt

Michael Wyatt is a member of Wisconsin Greens, Wisconsin Labor-Farm Party and Upper Great Lakes Green Network.

The gathering will be divided into two sections—a conference section for "community building" and workshops (Friday thru Sunday) and a congress section for decision making and elections (Monday thru Wednesday). One local felt this was backwards, because some of their members would not be able to attend during the week so they wanted to have decision making first. Others have expressed that the "community building" and workshops will enable us to make better decisions so the conference section should take place first. (Please pass on your sentiments to the committee.) The whole gathering will be open to the public. The theme, exact schedule, and fees, are yet to be determined.

The committee plans to work out a sliding scale fee structure to insure accessibility. In order to make the gathering even more accessible, buses from urban centers (Washington, Pittsburgh, Columbus, Boston) will be chartered to bring folks to Elkins. The gathering committee tried to find a Green local willing to host it in an urban setting, but to no avail; so this site was chosen. The college has dorm style accommodations and a campground is 15 miles down the road. They can also provide both vegetarian and non-veg meals.

The gathering committee wishes to include as many people as possible in planning and helping make this the best gathering yet. There are subcommittees forming now. At this juncture they include alliance building, fundraising, media, GPOC and community building. Join one or maybe submit a proposal to one.

The planning committee extends thanks to all who returned the questionnaires and sent letters—keep sending suggestions, feedback, requests etc. They have asked that you give them a call and let them know your ideas. Make this *your* gathering!

To get involved contact: The Greens Gathering Committee: c/o Matthew Bennett, 9718 Sand Ridge, Millfield OH 45761, Phone: (614) 797-2797

Updates will be printed in the *IC Bulletin* and in *Green Letter*.

Green Restructuring Process

Approaches Ratification

The national restructuring proposal, formally initiated in June 1990, is currently undergoing scrutiny across the country. Eighty-five Green locals have joined the

ratification process, which is scheduled to end March 30.

If ratified, the proposal will enter a new stage in which the Greens as a whole will determine how the structure will look and function. The proposal, as it stands, provides

only the bare bones of a structure. More decisions will have to be made as new policy-making bodies proceed to make the system functional.

Decisions necessary for initiating this second phase will be made by late April at

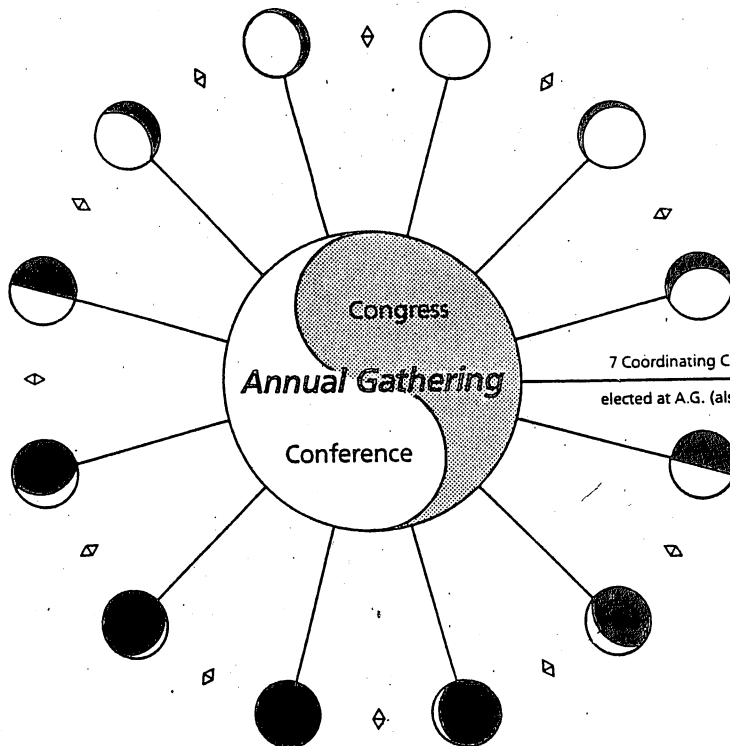
THE GREENS

PROPOSED STRUCTURE—DEC. 2, 1990

Key Concepts: locals retain ultimate power; autonomy and cooperation of party & nonparty components; movement coordination & decentralization; leadership accountability; checks and balances; rainbow connection; gender balance; future focus. Please read accompanying document for full clarification of structure, recall procedures, responsibilities, etc.

AUTONOMOUS LOCALS ○●●●

Diversity of Party ● and Nonparty ○ activity varies according to each local's priorities.



ANNUAL GATHERING

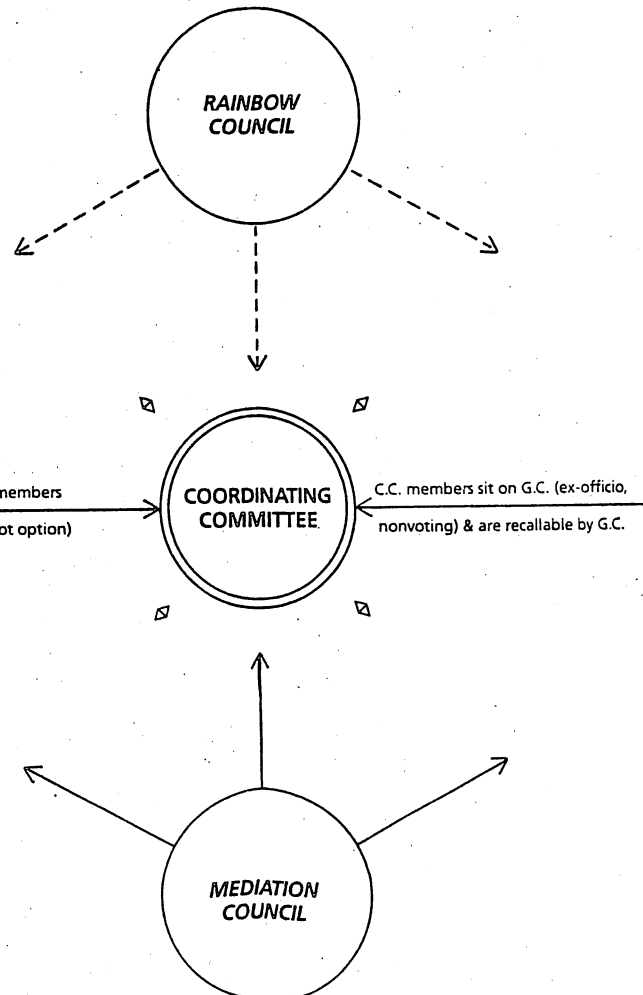
All are invited to attend the A.G. conference for community building, education, networking, celebration. All members of The Greens may participate in the A.G. decision-making Congress (broadest policy-making body) as voting delegates* of accredited locals or as observers.

*modified proportional representation (provision for At-large members)

COORDINATING COMMITTEE

7 members elected for 2 year-staggered terms, limit 2 terms. Facilitates development of locals; acts as national spokespersons; implements action as charged; oversees administrative functions.

The Rainbow Council advises all Green bodies representing the wisdom of people of color, elders, youth, women, disabled, gays & lesbians and other minority caucuses. Non-elected body.



The Mediation Council responds to internal conflict when needed; members elected by the Annual Gathering for non-recallable, 2 year term.

At a Turning Point in a World at War

David Butler Perry

the final Inter-regional Committee (IC) meeting in Minnesota. Plans for a National Gathering and Congress, scheduled for mid-August, will be made at that time. Ratifica-

continued on next page

The Greens (USA) stand on the threshold of ratifying the restructuring proposal initiated last June. The proposal will, in turn, initiate *our first effort* at devising a system of governance that meets our unique needs. This is an extraordinary turning point.

We support this effort because we believe humankind must turn the corner toward realization of a global, humane and sustainable culture. Yet our inability to work together in this same manner has made it difficult to build our movement into a viable force.

If humankind is a function of the planet that has given us life, surely The Greens represent a critical turning point in the earth's effort to heal itself. We find The Greens at an equally critical juncture. If we cannot learn to accept one another's differences and difficulties—if we cannot work together with compassion and forgiveness—how ever will we begin to teach the rest of the world how to do so?

And now, just as Green locals across the United States began to focus on the proposal in its final form, a war exploded in the Middle East. It has stunned us and sent our lives reeling. We are facing a new turning point that feels utterly unacceptable. Yet this war, coming in the context in which it has, may represent the most crucial transformative moment of our time. And we must seize the moment, in all its horror, its grief, its rage, and guide the energies it has unleashed—finally—into the unified force that the Green Movement must be.

The restructuring process and the proposal it has created provides our movement with a self-developing and self-regulating structure. It is designed to support and facilitate the real work—local, grassroots Green work—and to ensure the autonomy of local groups. It provides all the diverse forces at work within The Greens, Party and non-Party alike, the freedom to function freely in the context of a greater unity. It defines accountability, organizes resources and support functions, and coordinates unified action throughout the Movement.

But, there is one critical problem with the restructuring proposal: however ingenious our efforts to create an organizational structure that works for us, it cannot *succeed* unless we change our way of thinking. This is no ordinary movement we are building. We are exploring an entirely new *kind* of politics. We envision a world where people respect the earth—and one another. We believe in nonviolence as a way of life. But can we apply these values to our own behavior within the Green Movement? We will never help the rest of the world to do what we are unwilling to do ourselves—among ourselves.

We have a real opportunity in our hands: if we ratify the restructuring proposal and develop its plans in a spirit of solidarity, compassion, and cooperation, we present the world with something it can turn to with hope. What greater gift could we offer people in this hour of darkness? □

11 REGIONS ○

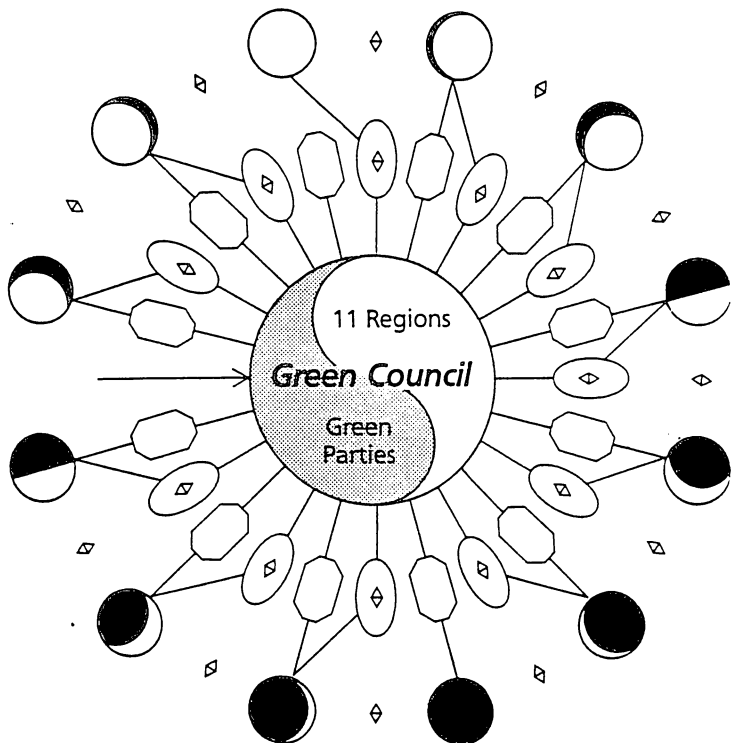
Interested locals involved in nonparty activity ○ elect one representative to the Green Council from their region (11 total votes). 2 year term, limit 2 terms.

STATE GREEN PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ○

Interested locals involved in party activity ● elect representatives to the Green Council (11 total votes). 2 year term, limit 2 terms.

MULTI-CENTERED FUNCTIONS ◇

Clearinghouse, working groups, national committees located by regions to decentralize power, responsibilities and resources.



GREEN COUNCIL

Equal power between elected representatives from 11 regions (nonparty activity) and from state green party organizations (party activity); implements goals of Annual Gathering; coordinates inter-regional & interstate efforts; authorizes functions at interregional level; accredits regions & green party organizations; serves as The Greens' 501(c)4 board.



continued from previous page

tion will also result in a new name for the GCoC: The Greens (USA).

If the proposal is not ratified, there will be no further national networking other than that of the Green Party Organizing Committee. Most of the activities of the National Clearinghouse will be shut down. Publications will continue independently as best they can.

An Array of Challenges

Many challenges confronted the Working Group when it met in Kansas last Winter. Input from individuals and local groups all over the country was studied and synthesized. Members recognized three primary goals: First, the proposal must be acceptable to all Greens. Second, the system must work, meaning that it must be self-regulating and capable of perpetually recre-

ating itself as conditions change. And, third, the system must make effective the real, local work of the Greens.

The first challenge faced: The need to retain power and autonomy at the local level, in a movement that must also function decisively at national and transnational levels. The Working Group acknowledged the appeal that exists in "the 'freedom' of the unaffiliated individual activist or local organization that can function at will, spend all their time on themselves,... and escape responsibility for the flaws of defective organizations...."

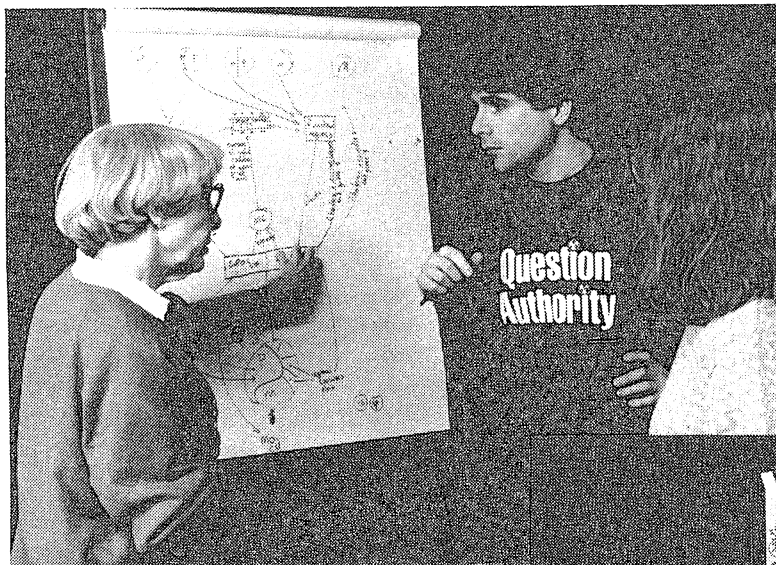
The ability of such activists to achieve goals, however," is constantly constrained: by the lack of a larger community of support; by lack of encouragement and constructive criticism from one's peers in other places; by the inability to allocate sizable resources for the development of new activists, ideas, and useful literature; and by the lack of broadly-based programs and priorities. The feeling of powerlessness sometimes experienced by unaffiliated individuals and locals, and the inability to act, is rooted in the reality and limitations of uncoordinated efforts."

The Working Group went on to note that economic, political, and military power is concentrated at national and transnational levels. "We need an organization," they suggested, "that can function at those levels and take unified action when appropriate. We can maximize our influence and effectiveness through strong connections among people who share the same goals and values.... If we are to have an effective movement and generate enough power to

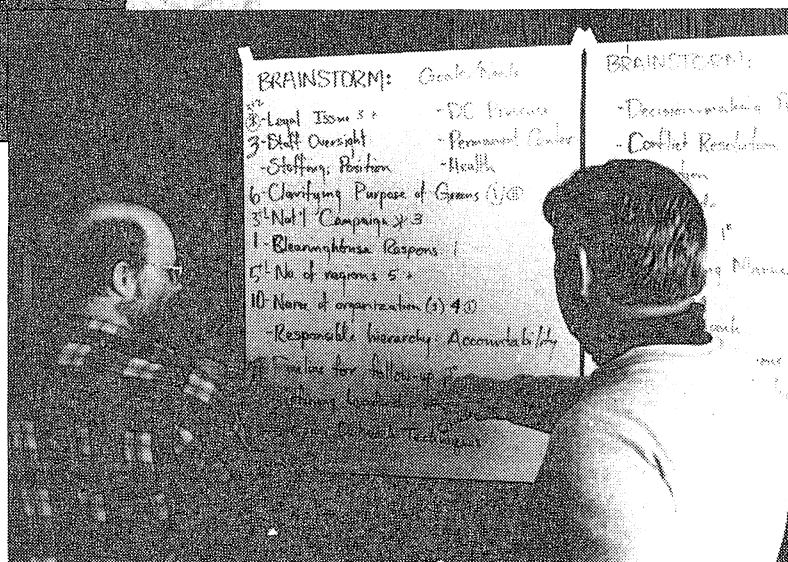
make the kinds of changes we need, we must coordinate our efforts within regions and nations, across continents and around the globe. This can only happen with an effective organization. Yet the key is to provide for coordination while at the same time guarding against the centralization of power."

Building New Structure

A key feature of the newly proposed structure involves the formal inclusion of state Green Parties within the Green Movement. Requests to give Party and non-Party interests "their own space" were balanced with other preferences to keep The Greens



The first challenge faced:
The need to retain power and autonomy at the local level, in a movement that must also function decisively at national and transnational levels.



united. The resulting plan may look ponderous at first glance. But it is believed that a system of checks-and-balances, and a self-adjusting design, will provide equilibrium as the structure is developed and altered through use.

Many Green Party organizers are very uncomfortable with the idea of the Party being subject to pressures from the rest of the Movement. Many non-Party activists are equally uncomfortable with the Party's potential impact on Green Movement organizing. The final consensus was aimed at avoiding an impending split between these two areas of Green activism, with a proposed structure designed so that both sides can operate without being controlled by the other. Yet, by keeping Party and non-Party interests connected there will remain a forum for dialogue, and a foundation for the Party in the vibrant reality of a grassroots movement.

All local groups that include dues-paying members of The Greens would be invited to send delegates to an **Annual Gathering**. This Gathering would be the highest policy-making body on the national level, and it would choose a national **Coordinating Committee** (not a policy-making body) to implement campaigns, direct staff and working group functions, and serve as media spokespersons. Every Green would be eligible to vote in Coordinating Committee elections.

A national leadership body, called the **Green Council**, would oversee the Coordinating Committee. Power on the Green Council would be shared equally between Party and non-Party interests by means of a dual, bicameral structure. With 75% approval required for decisions, neither side could control the other. Half the power would rest in eleven regional networks, representing non-Party interests. State Parties, collectively, would choose their own process for selecting delegates to the Green Council and would also utilize eleven votes. The Green Council would accredit both regions and state Parties. It would be a policy-making body subject to the direction of the Annual Gathering, and, like the Coordinating Committee, its members would be recallable.

State Parties will form an independent national organization through the Green Party Organizing Committee. Similarly, non-Party networks will form their own organizations and will probably sub-divide

bioregionally. By providing all interests the opportunity to organize "within their own space," while sharing power and leadership, it is hoped that The Greens as a whole will now be able to advance the changes so critically needed in our present society.

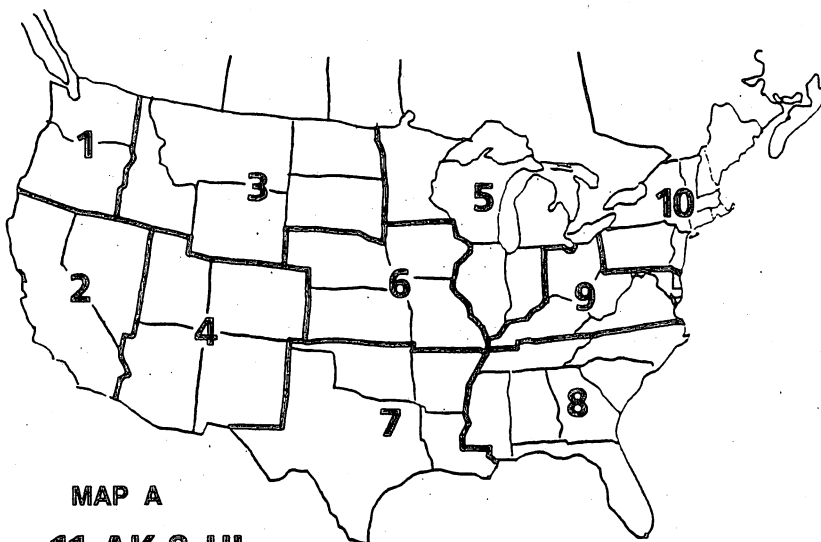
A Continuing Process

The Restructuring Working Group will provide the April IC meeting with a proposed agenda of decisions for facilitating the approaching transition. Such an agenda of specific and well-circulated proposals will also have to be prepared for the Annual Gathering in August. It is expected that the IC will reconstitute the Working Group in

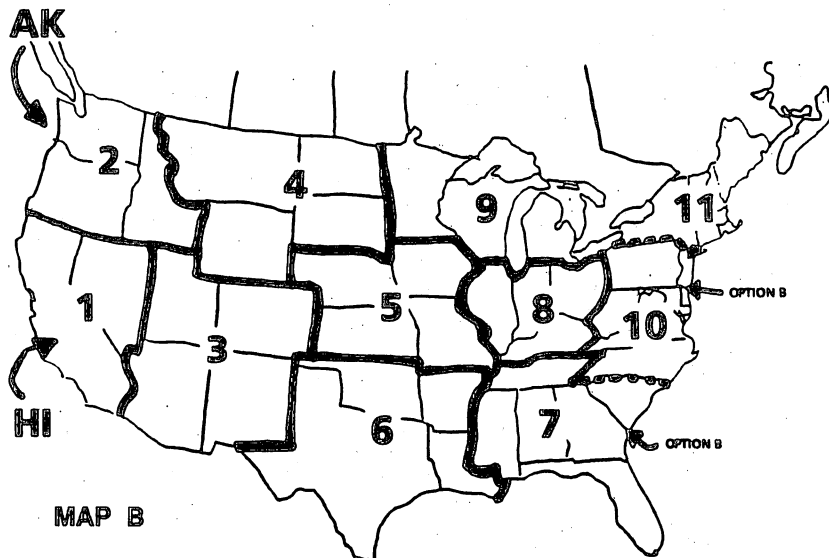
some form to prepare for the Annual Gathering.

The task of the Working Group has been financially independent of any other Green functions. Most members have fronted money from their own pockets. Send contributions to reduce this debt to Dee Berry, care of the National Clearinghouse.

Portions of this article were contributed by Dee Berry, Charlie Betz, Greg Jan, and David Perry



MAP A
11-AK & HI



MAP B



Eco-Bashing?

Dear Green Letter:

Eco-bashing is the new sport in several places. When corporate chiefs aim a few shots at environmentalists, it's not surprising. When Greens join the game, it's strange and unfortunate.

Margo Adair's "Let Us Speak for Ourselves" (*Green Letter*, Winter, 1990) contains several anti-environmentalist blasts. In response, I would like to offer several quick observations.

According to various public opinion polls, about seventy-five percent of the American people consider themselves to be "environmentalists." About thirty percent of the people are self-identified as "strong environmentalists." Critics can argue about definitions and sincerity, but, at some point, the numbers have to be acknowledged. Clearly, if seventy-five percent of the people consider themselves to be "environmentalists," the environmental movement has cut across the lines of class, race, age, and geography. The environmental movement is no longer a white, middle-class movement, and it hasn't been a white, middle-class movement since the early 1980s.

The Environmental Protection Agency reports that there are over 8,000 citizens environmental protection groups in the United States. If anything, I suspect that the EPA estimate is conservative. In any event, the movement is incredibly large and varied. This movement has everything from Ducks Unlimited and Keep America Beautiful to Earth First! and the SouthWest Organizing Project. The movement's diversity reflects America's diversity.

The people who have nurtured the environmental movement during the last fifty years have done one hell of a lot of good. Without their work, there wouldn't have

been an EPA, a NEPA, or a Superfund. Quite likely, there wouldn't be a Green Movement. Terms like "biodiversity" and "appropriate technology" would be unknown or would belong only to scholars. *Green Letter* might not exist. Community groups might not be talking about "getting involved in environmental work" because the models for citizen participation in environmental



proceedings would be few and far between. At some point, we ought to say "thanks" to the people who first assembled organizations like the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth.

Unfortunately, the only green that I see in some places is the green of envy and inexperience. Some "progressives" still talk about environmentalists as if the "nature nuts" were a tiny minority. Others follow Richard Moore's example and say things like, "Historically, advocacy organizations... have not included the very people directly affected by the problems in deciding how to resolve them." (See GL, Winter 1990, pp. 4-5) Well, when we're talking about the envi-

ronment, we're talking about everybody. If we're talking about global warming, the threat of nuclear war, or the loss of the Amazon rainforest, we should realize that everyone is at risk. With over 8,000 citizens environmental groups in the nation, there are plenty of opportunities to get involved in local projects. If you don't like the Audubon Society or Greenpeace, move down the road a bit and find a group you do like. Or create an environmental group of your own.

It's all very simple. If you don't like the hiring policies or the fundraising policies of a particular group, get involved or leave. With most of the big membership organizations, it's comparatively easy to join and, yes, it's easy to move into policy-moving positions, if you're willing to do some work. All that you have to do is to volunteer.

Alas, this "fish or cut bait" suggestion probably won't sell in some places. For some people, it's easier to do a bit of eco-bashing. In some distant set of offices, the big chemical and oil company executives are probably watching this new set of eco-bashers. The corporate chiefs are probably laughing their heads off. Thanks for nothing.

Bruce Kelly
Providence, RI

We are not environmentalists!

Dear Green Letter,

"Eco-bashing" is the latest term in the Green movement's extensive eco-vocabulary.

Bruce Kelly's letter to the editor in response to Margo Adair's article, "Let Us Speak for Ourselves" (*Green Letter*, Winter 1990), accuses critics of the Green movement of playing right into the hands of corporate polluters. We are accused of being envious and inexperienced, and are scolded for not incorporating into environmental organizations and working our way to the top of the eco-corporate ladder.

Kelley claims that... "if seventy-five percent of the people consider themselves to be 'environmentalists,' the environmental

movement has cut across the lines of class, race, age, and geography." Well, based on Mr. Kelley's figures and the experiences of 1990, the environmental movement has apparently crossed "enemy" lines as well.

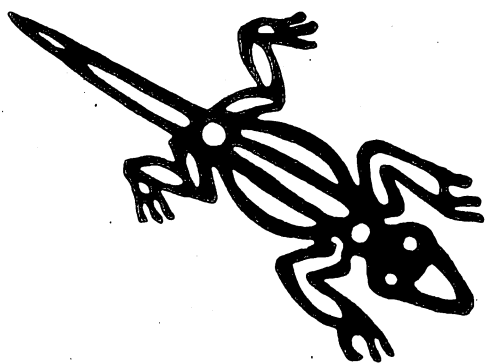
During the "Earth Day" hoopla of last year, everyone claimed to be an environmentalist, including Chevron, Exxon, Waste Management Incorporated and the Department of Defense. It was not only "the in thing" to be an environmentalist during the 20th anniversary of Earth Day, it was profitable as well.

The National Wildlife Federation has even gone a step further to incorporate people



into their family of Greens by placing Waste Management Incorporated's Dean Buntrock on their Board of Directors. WMI has a track record of environmental violations and other criminal activities that has kept the EPA busy for years.

In terms of the South West Organizing Project, allow us to attempt to set the record straight. We are not environmentalists. We are a community-based organization that is multi-issue and multi-racial. Our purpose is to empower the disenfranchised of the Southwest United States to realize racial



and gender equality; and social and economic justice. This means struggling for basic human rights of fair housing, decent employment, and safe workplaces and communities, free from the dangerous threats from industrial poisons.

SWOP's Community Environmental Program was born out of neighborhood surveys in which residents were asked to identify priority issues. People would speak of sewage plant odors, sawdust from neighboring particle board plants, or fumes from local oil recycling facilities. *These issues were not identified as environmental concerns, but rather as community priorities.*

People of color have been struggling for a long time over environmental justice issues; whether in the community fighting exposure of our children to lead based paints, in the fields where farmworkers are being sprayed with pesticides, or in the sweat shops of high tech industry where women of color are working with freons, ethers, and open containers of TCE's. Historically, these issues have not been environmental problems, but labor and community issues.

The fact that people of color are not adequately represented in the environmental movement is not the result of our lack of interest or our inexperience. It is the result of the envi-

ronmental movement's historical single issue focus on conservation and preservation rather than a broader political agenda that includes social, racial, and economic justice.

Only in recent years has the environmental movement begun to expand and to realize that environmental issues cannot be separated from the broader context of political realities. Now apparently, environmentalists are attempting to adopt us as part of their own. As SWOP Co-Director Richard Moore states, however, "Thank you very much, but we are already part of a movement."

For the record, allow us to offer a few new terms to the eco-lingo.

Eco-racism (aka environmental racism) is the reality that uncontrolled hazardous waste dumps are disproportionately and deliberately sited in working class, minority communities.

Eco-nomic blackmail is the reality that industrial, agricultural, municipal, and military polluters impose their polluting facilities on economically disenfranchised, working class, minority communities. People who demand account-

ability for the damages caused by these polluters are threatened with the shut down of the facility and the loss of much needed jobs.

The Green movement has had a hard time fitting "racism" into the eco-dictionary alongside "bio-region," "SPAKA," and "eco-bashing." Members of SWOP attended the Green gathering at Eugene, Oregon in 1989. The most glaring weakness of the gathering was the obvious whiteness of the Greens. But this situation is not unique.

The track record of organizations such as the Sierra Club and others speaks for itself. But it is an illusion to assume that increased hiring of minorities will alleviate conflict between people of color and environmentalists.

What we are demanding is an examination of the fundamental policies of the Group of Ten and other environmental corporations that lead to conflict between themselves and our communities. (See GL, Winter 1990, pp. 4-5, for concrete examples of such conflicts.)

Too many people assume that the "great cause" of conservation and preservation is everyone's cause. It seems that whenever white America and Europe take on a great cause, we end up losing more land and resources. The question we must all ask ourselves is: "Conservation for whom?"

The Group of Ten and other national environmental organizations manage multi-million dollar budgets. They are developing policies that affect all of our lives.

If we as working class people, as people of color, are not involved in developing and enforcing these policies, our communities' interests have no guarantees of protection. We can no longer allow environmentalists to represent what they feel are our interests. **We demand the right to speak for ourselves.**

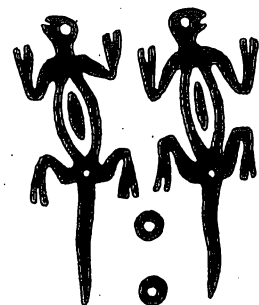
Mr. Kelly complains that we need to "get involved or leave." We do not want to get involved in the environmental movement. We want a dialogue as equals. Perhaps if people like Mr. Kelly would take the time to get involved in the broad spectrum of issues that we face on a daily basis, he would spend less time inventing the latest eco-trendy scrabble word and gain a true understanding of our struggles.

Since we have begun to question the motives and actions of the environmental movement we have been called "divisive." We have been accused of "hitting people over the head with two-by-fours." We have even been called "fascists." This is a common reaction when people of color stand up for what they know is right.

We look forward to working together with the environmental community on righting environmental injustice in the United States and abroad. We look forward to continuing a dialogue with the environmental movement and working towards a just society that fosters all of our communities' basic needs.

Yes, Mr. Kelly, The corporate chiefs are laughing their heads off. But you don't have us to thank. They're laughing because in many cases, environmentalists are the corporate chiefs.

South West Organizing Project
211 10th St. S.W.
Albuquerque, NM 87102





Readers Comment on Protest Tactics

Dear Green Letter,

Would you shave your head to stop the war? Wear a suit and tie to shut down the logging? If you're a woman, would you wear pantyhose and high heels to keep your children out of the military?

Have you ever noticed how the media cover anti-war or environmental events? The camera always seems to focus on some spaced-out looking hippie type or a gruff-looking woman in fatigues. Imagine Mr. & Mrs. Middle-of-the-Road, the people who so badly need to be reached. How possible is it that the radical appearance of protesters puts them off? "Look, dear, it's those weirdos again." Even though their minds might be open, these people have been conditioned to think that anyone who doesn't look like them is not to be trusted. What if, for once, there was a peace rally on TV, and everyone appeared to be ordinary, unthreatening citizens? *Think of it as theater.*

Think of it as going to court. I got busted once in the 70s and when I went before the judge, it was in a bland-looking sport coat and with short hair and a clean-shaven face. My appearance had a great deal to do with getting off easy. My hair and beard grew back, my funky, comfortable clothes were still there when I got home, and most important, my attitude had not changed. I felt like I had beaten the establishment, saved my ass with a simple disguise. Now we have the ass of the entire planet to save, and the judges are still taking appearance into account. A little trickery can do wonders.

Jeff Costello
Port Townsend, Washington

Dear Green Letter,

After reading the letters in response to the "Poem for Lettuce", I keep reflecting on how the spirit of the poem seems to have been missed.

To quote Joseph Epes Brown in *The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian*: "Our animate-inanimate dichotomy, or our categories of animal, vegetable, and mineral, for example, have no meaning for the Indian who sees that all exists as animate, each form in its own special way, so that even rocks

Dear Green Letter,

Demonstrations that result in jail, fines and public condemnation need to be re-evaluated.

Large numbers of demonstrators produce an equally large force of trained police. Law enforcement then becomes a major media focus. This type of event also makes it easier for infiltrators to neutralize the process.

Consider the following scenario instead:

Protesters divide into groups of 25-40, assemble at various busy intersections, and block that street to vehicle traffic. This will reduce the number of police that can respond to any particular site. If an emergency vehicle requires access, halting the roadblock and then re-establishing it will be an easy process.

The need for several highly visible Peacekeepers per intersection is important.

Those intersections that law enforcement does respond to, the demonstrators should immediately cease the roadblock when it becomes apparent that the next step will be arrest. The group can relocate at another intersection and repeat the process. Several hundred protesters could tie up any city for hours using this method without the arrest of protesters.

Blocking access to a particular site can be done by blocking the intersections leading up to a building rather than the steps to the building.

Anonymous
Portland, Oregon



Thousands gathered on Boston Common December 1st to demonstrate against the war.

Photo c. 1990 by Ellen Shub, from *Peaceworks* magazine.

Dear Green Letter,

Are we to fight for oil and play world policeman again in the Middle East? We really don't need to be addicted to foreign

oil. We should practice conservation and develop renewable, non-polluting sources of energy.

This conflict is not a case of self-defense, and we don't need to fight Iraq to get them out of Kuwait. Economic sanctions in South Africa forced them to begin to dismantle apartheid but it took years. Economic sanctions would force Iraq to leave Kuwait if we gave them time to work.

Militarism is robbing all nations of the lives and money needed to fight poverty, discrimination, disease and pollution. Stop the war now in the Persian Gulf, and work for peace and social justice!

Donald F. Busky
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

have a life of their own and are believed to be able to talk under certain conditions."

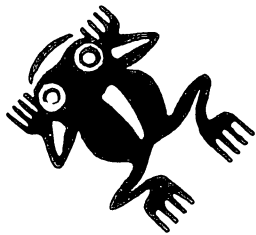
Not only did "Poem for Lettuce" remind us of the beingness of the plant people but it did so with the great humor of the Salish "clown" whose function is to protect us from self-importance or self-righteousness. Here a gift is given to expand our awareness beyond our linear patris attitudes of subject/object, and I thank Chrystos from my heart.

Beverly Fleming Cobb
Hampton, New Jersey

Dear Green Letter,
I have been quoted severely out of context in the latest *Utne Reader* and am writing to several of my Green friends to express my dismay and try to clarify things before it becomes any more of an embarrassment to us all. Lynette Lamb, who covered our Estes Park gathering for *Utne* lifted a quote from my November 1990 *Z Magazine* article referring to "tortuous debates over essentially administrative decisions." She made it sound as though I was referring to the conference, even though it is very clear in the article that I was discussing the past history of our organization, and specifically the IC that lead to the need for reorganization. It is about 5 paragraphs before I began discussing the conference itself!

I tried very hard in my article to convey a positive message about the conference and its outcome to an audience that has generally been skeptical about what we are doing in the Greens. I am very dismayed that, through a terribly out-of-context quote, I am made to appear to be bad-mouthing both the conference and its important results. I will be writing to Lynette and to Jay Walljasper urging that they correct their mistake and encourage you to do the same if you wish.

Brian Tokar



Dear Green Letter,
I enjoyed John Owens' response to my letter on direct democracy (GL Winter 90). In a previous mailing, I expressed much the same ideas on electronic and mail referendums as John. Whether that letter was rejected out of fear of computers or because the idea is a threat to the Green Power Elite, the results are the same: control over information and centralization of authority.

Once again, I propose that we change one Key Value—Grassroots Democracy to Direct Democracy. I ask all Greens to mail in your vote to *Green Letter*, which hopefully will print the results in a future issue. This is direct democracy in action.

Enrique G. Petrovich
Pompano Beach, Florida

Colorado Water

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fornia.

The San Luis Valley presently exports food: potatoes, beef, barley, lettuce, mushrooms, quinoa, honey, etc. Looking at the larger picture, it is foolhardy to risk desertifying a productive agricultural region when the world's population is growing. Agricultural lands must be prioritized over urban lawns.

The water project threatens two environmentally important areas in the San Luis Valley: wetlands, and the Great Sand Dunes National Monument. San Luis Valley wetlands are the second largest duck-producing area in the United States, and are a migratory stop-over point for sandhill cranes and whooping cranes adopted by them. Wetlands also serve the valuable function of absorbing pollution and heavy metals.

It is believed that the Great Sand Dunes are stabilized by ground water. The National Park Service is drilling core samples in the dunes during different seasons in 1991, to determine if the water inside them trickles down from precipitation, or is drawn up from ground water through capillary action. If the latter is proven true, the federal government may halt the water project because it endangers the National Monument.

How AWDI would transport the water to its Front Range markets is also of concern. A cheap route would be to pump water over the mountains into a different watershed: the Arkansas River. AWDI could then withdraw the same amount of water downstream and pump it into the South Platte River, which flows into Denver. This water-swapping deal would satisfy the water rights of people downstream on the Arkansas River, but would dry up parts of the Arkansas River around Salida and negatively affect that area's rafting and tourist industry. The Bureau of



Land Management is considering sections of the Arkansas River for inclusion in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Program, which would help protect it.

Opposition to the Water Project

Citizens of the sparsely-populated San Luis Valley are seeking support for their cause. They emphasize the natural beauty and recreational resources of the Valley, and encourage urban dwellers to become water conservationists.

The Colorado State Division of Water Resources, the Rio Grande Water Conservation District, and other opponents of the project are currently battling AWDI in Water Court. U.S. Government agencies such as the Bureau of Land Management, the Great Sand Dunes, and agencies concerned with fish, game, wildlife and wetlands have pooled their resources to fight AWDI in court. The case is to be heard in 1991.

What Can Greens Do?

Green activists can help by spreading the word and making a public issue out of the participation of "environmentalists" such as Ruckelshaus, Lamm and Strong in this water project. Colorado Senator Bob Pastore (D-Monte Vista) and Representative Lewis Entz (R-Hooper) are fighting the water grab. People outside the San Luis Valley can ask their own representatives to support Entz and Pastore's efforts.

Or write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper. Colorado and California city dwellers in particular need to read letters to the editor about the impact that their water use has on Colorado rural areas; through water conservation they could save whole regions like the San Luis Valley from desertification.

There are also two good causes which need your support: *Friends of the Dunes, Inc.*, 11500 Highway 150, Mosca CO 81146, which is financing the core sample of the Great Sand Dunes; *Citizens for San Luis Valley Water*, Box 852, Monte Vista CO 81144.

Tori Woodard is a Green Party member presently living in Yucca Valley, California. She was born and raised in the San Luis Valley.

Announcements

❖ Peacemakers Video Series

Peacemakers is a weekly cable television series seeking to inform and motivate for action to build a better world.

Peacemakers formats include on-camera discussions and interviews, pre-produced videos, commentary, magazine shows and live artistic performances. It is endorsed by the Ecology Center of Southern California. Tax-deductible contributions are welcome and may be made to the Ecology Center and earmarked for "Peacemakers Television." War Tax Resistance, Practical Peacemaking, Boycott Nestle, Nuclear Weapons on Trial, and Youth for Peace are included among over 120 titles.

John Owen and Madeleine Schwab produce and copyright the Peacemakers series. P.O. Box 521, Los Angeles, CA 90053; 213-223-2966.

❖ Ready for the revolution?

We're looking for good neighbors here in middle Tennessee; especially those of the Green persuasion.

There are many opportunities here for work (though few jobs), for living, in land tenure and for positive action. This is abetted by our informal bioregional network.

If you'd like to come check it out, please write me a note telling a bit about yourself and what you are looking for. Women and minorities especially welcome.

Contact: J. Heplet, Rte. 2, Box 170, Whitleyville, TN 38588

Correction: The Winter edition of *Green Letter*, Vol 6, No 3, pp. 24-5, featured graphics by Rini Templeton, not Trini Templeton. Rini Templeton was a long-time cultural worker. An edition of her work, *The Art of Rini Templeton*, is available from The Real



Comet Press, 3131 Western #410, Seattle WA 98121, for \$14.95 plus \$2.50 for shipping and handling.

❖ Attention Persian Gulf Resisters!

Information about arrests or jailings of war resisters in the United States and Canada is now being collected for publication in *The Nuclear Resister* newsletter.

Send the following information to: Felice and Jack Cohen-Joppa, *The Nuclear Resister*, P.O. Box 43383, Tucson, AZ 85733. 602-323-8697:

- Date, city, site and number of arrests;
- Charges filed;
- Name and jail (or support group) address of anyone in jail for an anti-war action, their legal status and trial or release data;

- A contact name, address, and phone number for more information and publication.

Subscriptions to the newsletter are available: \$18/10 issues, \$21 Canada, \$28 Overseas.

❖ Americas Connections

A North/South Exchange will take place July 27 - August 18, 1991, on the eve of the 500th anniversary of the coming of Europeans to the Americas. National chapters of *Servicio Paz y Justicia* invite North American activists to visit Latin America, learn about their struggles and about popular movements' work around 1992, exchange experiences, and build future collaboration.

Basic cost is \$1300 and an additional \$200-500 should be allowed for incidental expenses, depending upon the country visited. Limited scholarship assistance is available and bilingual applicants will be given a discount in exchange for their services.

Application and \$100 deposit due 6/1/91. Write to: F.O.R. Task Force on Latin America and the Caribbean, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060. (408) 423-1626.

❖ *Wastelines* is a quarterly publication of the Solid Waste Alternatives Project of the Environmental Action Foundation. The quarterly is twelve pages. It usually has four brief stories about events, initiative around the country.

Wastelines is available for ten dollars from Environmental Action Foundation, 1525 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington DC 20036.

❖ International Environmental Film Festival to Premier in Colorado

In March, 1991, the International Environmental Film Festival debuts in Boulder, Colorado.

Following the Festival, a "Best of Boulder" film series will travel through the U.S., and abroad. In addition, the Festival will assist Eco Expo, the first national exposition of environmental consumer products.

For more information about film submission or attending the Festival, call 303-298-8223 or 303-444-4754, or write Denver International Film Society, 999 18th Street, Suite 247, P.O. Box 17508, Denver, CO, 80217.

❖ **The Institute for Social Ecology**, Plainfield, Vermont, is offering its internationally-known Summer Semester in 1991. The program runs from June 21 - July 21 with nine college credits available through Goddard or Burlington College. The Summer Semester consists of these distinct programs: Ecology and Community, the Design for Sustainable Communities Studio and Practicum, the Social Ecology and Higher Education Symposium, Women and Community Development. Advanced Seminars, Workshops, and Mini-Courses are available as well. For further information, contact the Institute for Social Ecology, P.O. Box 89, Dept. B, Plainfield, VT 05667 or 802-454-8493.

❖ **The Lancaster Greens of Lancaster, Pennsylvania**, will present a workshop, "**How to Inspire Environmental and Social Change—Breaking the Psychological Barriers**," with Larry Thompson, M.S., Licensed Psychologist, on March 23, 1991, at the Eicher Arts Center, Cocalio St., Ephrata, Pennsylvania.

The workshop will explore the psychological aspects of making the changes necessary for an environmentally-sound and socially-conscious lifestyle. Issues such as addiction and dependency are also covered.

Contact Lancaster Greens, Box 7413, Lancaster, PA 17604-7413; or phone 717-627-0598, if interested.



It is a crucial time for U.S. citizens to learn more about Puerto Rico because of the upcoming plebiscite which may make Puerto Rico the 51st state of the U.S. - or give Puerto Rico its independence after decades of U.S. colonialization.

This tour will have a special focus on the environment. Lenient taxation and regulation of corporations has led to the virtual destruction of many beaches and the beautiful Puerto Rican rainforest. How can the environment be protected?

Leading Puerto Rican environmentalist Neftali Garcia will co-lead the tour. Accommodations will be simple - in hostels and alternative tour centers. We will travel throughout the island, visiting community groups, environmental activists, and representatives of the different political parties. We will also spend time at the rainforest, mountains and beaches and we'll take time to enjoy Puerto Rico's fabulous music.

The purpose of the tour is to increase awareness of and support for grassroots movements in Puerto Rico which are organizing for better protection of their land and resources, and for better living conditions for the people. We also want to increase awareness of the issues involved in the upcoming plebiscite. Cost will be approximately \$1,100

For applications contact: Global Exchange • 2141 Mission St. #202 • San Francisco, CA 94110 415-255-7296

❖ Witness for Peace Needs Central America Volunteers

Volunteers needed:

- age range from 21 to retired
- faith-based, nonviolent
- one year commitment
- Spanish-speaking or willing to learn.

To:

- document effects of conflict
- support human rights
- accompany victims of war
- host short-term delegations.

Where:

- in Guatemala/Southern Mexico (Application deadline: April 15, 1991)
- in Nicaragua (Application deadlines: May 30th Non-Spanish speakers, August 1st Spanish speakers).

Benefits:

- contributing to a fair and just Central American foreign policy
- room & board plus stipend
- major medical health insurance
- a week's vacation every four months.

Write to: Brenda Humphrey, Witness For Peace, 2201 P St. NW, Room 109, Washington DC 20037.

❖ Scientists To Reward Environmental Excellence!

San Antonio, TX The Ecogreen Global Society, International, will select recipients of its first annual Eco-Green Global Environmental Awards. The Awards, to be presented in April 1991, will recognize excellence in thirty fields of environmental endeavor. Selecting the awards recipients will be a board of environmental scientists from twenty universities in nine different countries. For further information write: Award Selection Board, EcoGreen Global Society, 2635 Nacogdoches Road, Suite G, San Antonio, TX., 78217. Tel: 512-824-5688; Fax 512-826-8211.

❖ **Remineralize the Earth** magazine, printed three times yearly, is a reflection, forum, and round table of ideas, experiences and research of those concerned with networking about and implementing soil remineralization. Articles, letters and photos are welcomed and appreciated.

New rates for three issues are now \$15, \$20, or \$25 in the U.S., which is a sliding scale according to income. Checks are payable to: *Remineralize The Earth*, 152 South Street, Northampton, MA 01060, U.S.A. Telephone: 413-586-4429

1492-1992 Poster

"500 Years of Occupation, No Cause for Celebration"

Poster size: 11 by 17. Cost: \$3.50

Supports work of the Witness for Non-Violence for Treaty and Rural Rights in Northern Wisconsin, and honors the work of the 500 Years of Resistance and Dignity (more info available on both causes). Send \$3.50 to cover poster and handling to: Witness for Non-Violence, 3026 N. 38th St, Milwaukee, WI, 53210.

Also available: Witness for Non-Violence Training Manual, Chippewa Treaty Rights and Non-Violent Activism in WI, \$15: from same address as posters.

❖ UC Irvine Hosts an International Conference on the Environmental Consequences of Nuclear Weapons Development April 11-14, 1991

The conference will bring together scientific experts, government and industry officials, citizen groups and environmentalists. Participants will come from the U.S., U.S.S.R., China and other countries. The purpose is to identify and evaluate long-term policy and technical solutions to previous and ongoing nuclear weapons production.

For more information contact: Dr. John Whiteley, Professor of Social Ecology and Social Sciences, UC-Irvine, Irvine, CA 92717; (714)856-6281; or Kathleen Maloney-Dunn, 3915-3 N. Park Avenue, Tucson, AZ 85710; (602) 888-7805; Peacenet: kmdunn.

❖ National Nuclear Power & Clean Energy Conference to be held on Fifth Anniversary of Chernobyl

A coalition of environmental groups including Greenpeace, Nuclear Information and Resource Service, and Safe Energy Communication Council will co-sponsor the first national conference focusing on nuclear power and alternative energy issues since 1983. The conference will be held in Washington, DC, from April 26, 1991, through April 28, 1991 and will serve as a national commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

For further information, including registration, contact the Nuclear Information and Resource Service at 202-328-0002; 1424 16th Street NW, Suite 601, Washington, DC 20036.

Environmental Impact

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According to Greenpeace, "virtually all of these weapons are long-range sea-launched cruise missiles and aircraft-delivered nuclear bombs." The U.S. outnumbers Iraq's nuclear capability 1000 to nothing. In addition to the ecological destruction and loss of human lives a nuclear attack would cause, it would also create serious political fallout. It could cause the U.S.-built international alliance to disintegrate. And it could potentially trigger an escalated Third World nuclear arms race.

Conventional Warfare

The U.S. is equipped with and possibly using "earth penetrator" bombs that burrow up to 200 feet beneath the surface before exploding. It is also using bombs that explode and scatter shrapnel before they hit the ground, and "smart" bombs that wait hours and sometimes days to explode. "Smart" bombs that fail to explode can go off years later when they come in contact with metal, such as a farmer's hoe. Fifteen years after the war, a small hospital in the Vietnamese countryside still treats 15-20 new bomb victims a month. The U.S. is using anti-personnel cluster bombs, which scatter munitions the size of tennis balls all over the ground that explode in a deadly spray of steel pellets if disturbed by human beings. B-52s have "carpet bombed" Kuwait, while conventional Tomahawk missiles being fired from Navy ships have the capacity, as one U.S. General put it to "kill an entire regiment in less than five minutes." The areas being bombed include archeological treasures of the biblical towns of Nineveh, Ur and Babylon.

Water As a Weapon: Targeting the Environment

Twenty-three percent of Iraq's population works in agriculture, farming in the famed "cradle of western civilization"—the fertile delta between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Iraq's agricultural sector, which produces one of the world's largest date crops, also grows rice, wheat, barley, livestock, poultry, milk, fruits and vegetables. All would suffer serious damage from conventional, chemical or nuclear war.

The Congressional Research Service (CRS) proposes that Iraqi irrigation systems should be selected as tactical targets, noting that "Iraqi armed forces would find it diffi-

cult to move... if attacks on dikes and dams encouraged floods." The impact of this kind of "solution" on Iraqi agriculture—both high-tech agribusiness and traditional cultivators utilizing ancient irrigation systems—would be severe. And while the report does not mention them, defoliation tactics similar to those used by the U.S. military in Vietnam (whose slogan was "only we can prevent forests") and most recently by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency in Guatemala, cannot be ruled out. Also potential targets are dams on three principle rivers in the Zagros mountains, outside of Baghdad. If these dams are damaged, the capital could suffer severe flooding. Traditional, horizontal subterranean wells called Qanat, which have collapsed during earthquakes, could also collapse during the aerial bombardments of Iraq, further destroying rural life.

Impacts of a Long-Term U.S. Presence

In the fall of 1990 the U.S. military drove full-speed into the Persian Gulf desert, first ostensibly to keep Saddam Hussein off Saudi Arabian sands, and then blatantly to prepare for the full-scale attack against Iraq. Now, the outbreak of war has virtually guaranteed a U.S. policy goal of establishing permanent U.S. or U.S.-led multinational bases in the Persian Gulf. Very little attention has been paid to the ecological consequences of this potentially permanent basing of huge numbers of troops and equipment in the region. However, there is a growing body of information that points to a series of environmental problems, including production of military toxic waste, disruption and destruction of desert ecosystems, and potentially damaging impacts on Middle Eastern agribusiness, traditional agriculture and nomadic grazing activities.

Toxic Troops

U.S. military bases and activities abroad typically do not follow any environmental regulation—whether it be promulgated in the U.S. or by the host nation. In fact, the Pentagon is in blatant violation of a 1978 Presidential order that mandates the development of a program and budget for cleaning up overseas bases. Military installations produce a deadly soup of poisons and carcinogens that includes paints, solvents, fuels, lubricants, polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), heavy metals, cyanides, phenols, acids, alkalies, and radioactive wastes.

The CRS report also notes that "Sanitation problems can quickly become

unmanageable under the hot sun, unless proper preventative measures are enforced... Flies that feed on garbage and human waste broadcast disease." The *Village Voice* estimates that the U.S. forces in the Gulf "are producing a minimum of between 10 and 12 million gallons of sewage a day," along with at least 250,000 tons of garbage a year. This solid and sewage waste, according to the Pentagon, is "by agreement the responsibility of the host country." However, it is doubtful that the Saudis have the facilities to accommodate waste produced by a military city the size of Miami, and the Pentagon will not confirm whether it has signed a memorandum of environmental understanding (a frequent practice) with its host.

Water Use: Draining Saudi Arabia

Personal water consumption for each U.S. soldier in Saudi Arabia, including drinking, cooking, bathing, and laundry is roughly eleven gallons per day. Vehicles demand 10-12 gallons more daily. (CRS Report) This means that U.S. soldiers are consuming at least 4,000,000 gallons of water every day. The U.S. military has reportedly dug new wells 1,500 feet deep in order to reach groundwater for its troops. It is drawing this water from underground aquifers that represent 90% of Saudi water sources. It has also appropriated the water produced by 28 of Saudi Arabia's 29 desalination plants. Added pressure by the U.S. military on the country's scarce, non-renewable water resources is increasing the rate of depletion. It has the potential to destabilize the country's internal economy, most directly affecting the least well-off Saudis, and the hundreds of thousands of impoverished foreign agricultural workers in the country. Access to safe drinking water for Saudi Arabia's rural population is already on the decline, having dropped from 87% of the population in 1980 to 68% in 1985. The U.S. presence promises only to exacerbate the problem.

The water issue becomes all the more critical in a chemical warfare scenario. According to the Congressional Research Service, "the use of persistent agents by either side... could be disastrous, because it takes about 200,000 gallons of wash water to decontaminate one division." It is not clear where such water resources would come from, or if they would even be available in certain parts of the Saudi desert.

Desert Storm's Dust Storms

The war and the potential for major long-term military presence in Saudi Arabia

pose serious threats to the region's desert ecosystems, to the nomads who live there, and to Middle Eastern agriculture. While the desert of Saudi Arabia may seem a barren wasteland, like the rest of the Middle East and many other desert ecosystems, it is home to a wildlife population of small mammals, including jackals, hares, sandcats, reptiles and birds. Its soils are held in place by a living crust of microorganisms, ephemeral plants, salt, silt and sand.

The disruption of the barren deserts and desert steppe during the war could potentially trigger massive duststorms and dust clouds. According to English Biologist J.L. Cloudsley-Thompson, during the desert campaigns of World War II large areas were disturbed, "giving rise to dust-storms when the wind velocity was only half that usually needed to cause them." As a result, the number of storms increased ten-fold. Dust storms in Libya in 1941 became so thick that all military movement ceased for three days. Thompson and other desert scientists note that it takes generations for desert ecosystems to recover. Studies of deserts in Africa and India have concluded that disruption and dust storms can reinforce dry spells and droughts by disrupting rainfall. Dust storms and drought would adversely affect agriculture in Saudi Arabia and other more fertile areas of the region, devastating local economies and deepening the hunger of the Middle East's poor.

What Ever Happened to the Peace Dividend?

A little more than a year ago, the world watched euphorically as protesters pulled down the Berlin wall and the "Soviet threat" ceased to be U.S. foreign policy's central concern. As the Cold War thawed, the U.S. military budget came under serious and extensive questioning. The idea emerged that a peace dividend could redirect defense money to other sectors of the ailing U.S. economy, including health, education, housing, mass transit, alternative energy and the environment. Operation Desert Shield however, came to the rescue of the military and the arms industry, which were sweating nervously as the cold war melted away.

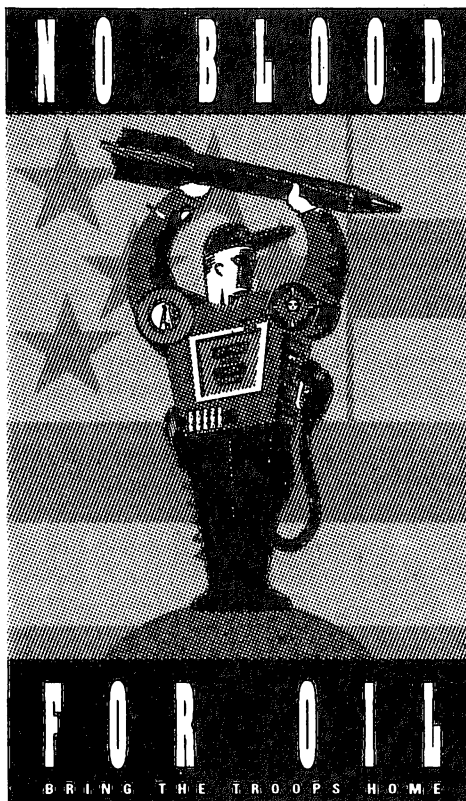
Disasters on the Home Front

The Gulf War has provided a perfect, if temporary, political diversion from the domestic problems that are plaguing the Bush administration. In the long term, however, it pushes the U.S. further down the road to

social, economic and ecological disaster. A huge deficit, a looming recession, the savings and loan crisis and a budget that dedicates 50% of federal income tax revenues to the military, while spending only 13% on health, education and environment combined, all spell trouble for the United States.

Cutting Social Corners

As billions of U.S. dollars pour into the Middle East, unemployment at home is on the rise, as is homelessness. Estimates of the number of homeless in the U.S. range from 250,000 to three million. Increasing



homelessness parallels federal funding cuts of 77% in housing programs between 1980-1990. Medical research for pressing problems such as AIDS is grossly underfunded. During the first five months of Desert Shield the U.S. government spent more than twice as much money on the preparations for war as it has on AIDS research in the last ten years. Yet 100,000 people have already died from the disease in the U.S. alone and another 100,000 are expected to die in the next two years.

Cutting Environmental Corners

U.S. environmental programs are also suffering from the war economy. More than two-thirds of the government's research budget goes to the military, while energy research gets only 4% and the environment

receives 2%. The U.S. spends five times as much money every day on the war as it does in a year on research for conservation and renewable alternatives for oil. The Environmental Protection Agency receives less than \$3 billion of the federal budget annually, yet a major effort to clean up the worst environmental problems in the U.S., according to the National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament, would cost at least \$300 billion—the military budget for just one year.

But the biggest polluter, and the most expensive to clean-up, is the U.S. military itself, which produces between 400,000 and 500,000 tons of hazardous waste each year—more than the top five civilian chemical corporations combined. The Center for Defense Information estimates that "the total cost of bringing U.S. military facilities into compliance with environmental laws and mending the damage they have caused could easily exceed \$150 billion." Yet the U.S. Department of Energy plans to spend less than 4 billion a year over the next five years to decontaminate nuclear weapons facilities, while the U.S. Department of Defense requested a paltry \$518 million for the environment in fiscal year 1990—less than the estimated cost of cleaning up the Navy base sites in the San Francisco Bay Area alone and less than the cost of one Stealth bomber.

National Sacrifice Areas

Under the heading "Energy Security," the National Energy Strategy calls for opposing all Congressional moratoria on offshore drilling and promotes exploration for oil in Alaska both on the coastal plain of the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) and throughout the Northern Slope. The native Gwich'in Athabascan Indian people depend for their subsistence and trading upon the Porcupine Caribou herd which calve there. Studies have shown that, among many other environmental impacts it will cause, oil development will totally disrupt calving, using even the greatest precautions. Thus the development would endanger a key element of Gwich'in economic self sufficiency.

A recently leaked internal Forest Service memorandum entitled "Proposed Strategy for Mitigating Persian Gulf Situation," suggests that the Service weaken the environmental review process for drilling on

continued on next page

Environmental Impact

continued from preceding page

public land, reduce the role of public comment and appeal in granting permits and generally giving drilling "the same urgency and management attention as fire." This plan includes permitting Chevron & Fina Oil to drill for gas in the Badger Two Medicine Region of the Lewis and Clark National Forest in Montana, despite 8 years of public opposition and hearings. Adjacent to a Blackfoot Indian reservation, Glacier National Park and the Great Bear Wilderness Area, the 133,000 acre Badger Two Medicine region is prime habitat for endangered grizzly bear, elk and many other animals. Tribal elders say that it is the last holy place left to the Blackfoot Indians. The elders describe development in the region as an attack on the Blackfoot religion, making sacred rites impossible, undermining their culture, and endangering their efforts to save Blackfoot youth from alcoholism and drug abuse.

Both of these cases amount not only to environmental disasters, but also to a blatant disregard for the sovereign rights of native nations. Once again the U.S. government is breaking the promises of treaties that protected hunting and gathering rights and is denying constitutionally guaranteed religious protection to indigenous peoples.

Ironically, although national security is used as an excuse for these actions, little is likely to be gained in real energy security. There is only a 6% chance of finding an oil field in the ANWR coastal plain large enough to provide the U.S. with even 200 days of its oil consumption. The Forest Service estimates that chances of finding a commercially viable well in the Badger region are less than one-half of one-percent.



National Security and Oil

President Bush's particular interest in "liberating" Kuwait lies less in keeping current oil supply lines open than in dominating access to long-term oil reserves and controlling the international economic balance of power. Before the invasion and subsequent embargo, Iraq and Kuwait combined provided only 7% of the world's oil and less than 4% of U.S. oil. One month after the embargo, other OPEC countries had increased production to make up for the losses. The dramatic price increases in the fall of 1990 resulted not from supply problems but rather from the fear of war brought by U.S. military intervention.

In the long term, however, the U.S. is heading toward a much more serious dependency upon Middle Eastern oil. While only 4% of the world's oil reserves are found in North America, nearly 20% lie under Iraq and Kuwait and fully 65% lie in the entire Middle East. Some of the U.S.'s main competitors in the world economy are already much more dependent. Japan, for example, imports 99% of its oil, 70% of it from the Persian Gulf region. Thus not only is cheap oil important to the U.S. "way of life," but according to Joseph Gerson of the American Friends Service Committee, "control over the flow of Middle East oil has given the U.S. enormous power over the economies of Western Europe, Japan and the newly industrialized countries of the Pacific. Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait challenged this power." In the post Cold War period and with U.S. world economic power declining, the Gulf war has given Washington an opportunity to "reaffirm its control over the region and thus its place as the world's number one power." This is the New World Order that George Bush is talking about.

As President Bush strives to explain to the public why he is sending our troops to risk their lives for oil, he is leaving out many critical parts of the story. He has neglected to tell the American people why he is determined to keep the U.S. economy dependent upon that oil. The National Energy Strategy, prepared by the Department of Energy (DOE) in the fall of 1990 as the troops headed for Saudi Arabia, abandons virtually all conservation and renewable energy options that could reduce our fossil fuel dependence, while suggesting increased tax subsidies that pay the oil companies to exhaust U.S. oil supplies as fast as possible.

This "Strategy" is not a new policy. For

decades, many of America's critical energy choices have been made by and for corporations in the oil, automobile and nuclear industries. These decisions, while increasing our oil addiction, also seriously damaged our environment, threatened public health, weakened our economy and have now led us to war. The Energy Strategy proposals keep the U.S. firmly on this dangerous path, becoming even more dependent on foreign oil and assuring that energy security—and therefore national security—will be synonymous with controlling the Gulf's oil supplies.

For a complete copy of this report and footnotes, write to: **Political Ecology Group** 519 Castro, Box 111, San Francisco, CA 94114-2577; (415)861-5045 □

El Salvador

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now permeates almost every facet of Salvadoran life. It includes toxic chemicals building up in soil, livestock, human and ecological food chains and urban waste disposal." Only one in ten people have access to clean drinking water, and water borne disease is a major cause of death.

Spanish colonialism in the past and U.S. domination today have led to repeated popular resistance in El Salvador. Uprisings by Indio slaves in colonial times continue today in the form of unions, teachers associations, clergy, farmers, students and the guerrilla movement organizing and demanding change. But like the Indios who resisted the Spanish, El Salvador's popular movements have faced brutal repression. A wave of government violence in the early 80s claimed the lives of tens of thousands; and today the attacks continue. This climate of violence compelled many protestors and social change activists in the early 80s to take up arms and fight against the government. The conflict escalated into the civil war of today, pitting a military propped up by more than four billion in U.S. aid dollars against a guerrilla army coalition that has won widespread support.

Anti-Imperialist Environmentalism

Given an understanding of U.S. intervention and the social inequality at the root of El Salvador's ecological crisis, what sort of environmentalist strategy is needed? In a word, solidarity. Despite their demonization

by the U.S. media, the popular movement and the FMLN in El Salvador represent basic popular demands that are key to overcoming the colonial legacy and establishing social justice and ecological balance. The Catholic Church's 1988 National Debate survey found widespread support for these goals: Respect for human rights; drastic curbs on the power of the military and elite landowners; negotiated settlement to the war; a new government based on broad participation; economic reform; redistribution of land; a foreign policy of non-alignment and an end to U.S. intervention.

Such changes are necessary preconditions to any lasting environmental protection in El Salvador. And they will not take place until the single largest obstacle is removed: the U.S. policy of supporting the Salvadoran military and fueling the civil war. "No U.S. aid to El Salvador's Death Squad Government" is a demand as urgent today as it was ten years ago.

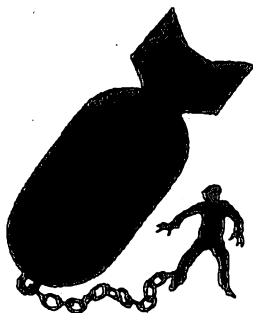
Environmentalists need actively to cooperate and establish alliances with Central American anti-intervention groups. As the

Vietnam War showed, anti-war movements can help defeat U.S. war policies. But beyond that, we must forge a new political identity, an anti-imperialist ecology based on solidarity with Third World liberation movements. We simply cannot behave the way U.S. environmentalists have behaved in the past: ignoring political and economic realities, refusing to side with the poor, obscuring the link between social justice and environmental issues, denying the environmental implications of demands for greater equality and for peace.

Yet our explicit support for liberation struggles must not weaken our role as environmentalists. A new popular government in El Salvador and structural economic reforms are prerequisites for environmental protection, but they do not guarantee it. Grounded in a no-compromise stance towards imperialism and U.S. intervention, we still have a unique role to play in protesting destruction of the environment and advocating ecologically sound solutions. We need to assist liberation movements but also ecological projects compatible with those movements. Solidarity environmentalism requires actively supporting groups fighting for land reform and political democracy like the FMLN, while, at the same time, being willing to criticize those groups from an environmental perspective.

It is important that U.S. environmentalists remain unambiguous in our support for social justice and clear on who our allies are, criticizing our Third World colleagues only from a constructive standpoint and from the position of established cooperation with their struggles. The path of environmental solidarity is a difficult and uncertain one, but it is the only one to take if we are to achieve an ecologically sound peace, for El Salvador and for the world.

Bill Hall is a writer and activist living in San Francisco. Research for this article is based on the 12-page Environmental Project on Central America report, "El Salvador: Ecology of Conflict," by Bill Hall and Daniel Faber. It is available from the Earth Island Institute, 300 Broadway #28, San Francisco, CA 94133. □



Race

continued from page 17

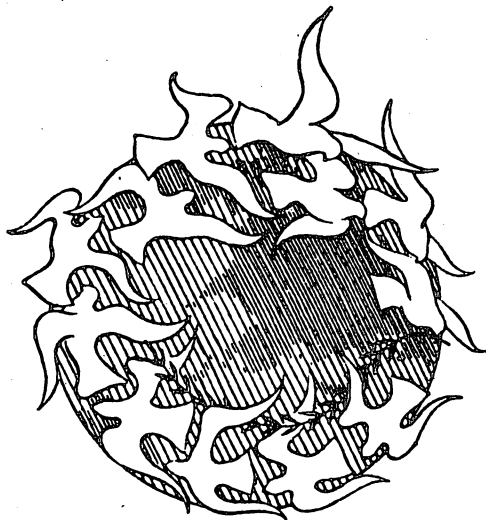
such conditions. The chronic underdevelopment of African-American, Native American, Asian, and Latino communities within our not-quite-democracy produces needless suffering and death through lack of education and employment opportunity, substandard housing and health care, police repression, bias in the legal system, unfair and unequal exposures to toxic hazards. Although the cost in the quality of human lives and outright deaths as a result of these socially created conditions runs into the millions, seldom are the "well dressed" aggressors who make and enforce the policies that result in these situations demonized and portrayed as "monsters."

Given the record of our policies, how proud President Bush must be of Kuwait, that shining example of an open and just society that exploits thousands of Palestinian and Jordanian migrant workers in order to maintain a "comfortable" way of life for its citizens.

He must be equally proud of the Saudi Arabian style of democracy, where women can be stoned to death for "adultery," where they cannot drive even if they behave themselves, where petty theft can cost the thief the loss of a hand, and where the country itself is named after the ruling family—the House of Saud.

Why doesn't President Bush just tell us the real reason why our military has been deployed to the region? If Saddam Hussein is a "bad guy" in his own right, he has also been selected by the Bush administration as a post-Cold War replacement for the "evil empire" as a target for U.S. fear and loathing. Like Manuel Noriega, Saddam Hussein is being used to manipulate the unconscious racism and fears of the American people for veiled political and economic reasons. U.S. invasions of tiny countries like Grenada and Panama, to say nothing of covert activities around the world, make Bush's media stance as a champion of the underdog sound like a sick joke.

There are many things about Arab and Islamic people generally that Americans might tend to find "exotic" at best, or, unfortunately, alien or brutish. The problem here is our own. We don't understand their languages, customs, religious beliefs and practices, histories, political systems, and have been little motivated to learn. It is possible that we pass judgement on these people and their leaders and that, to some extent, we don't know what we're talking about. This has happened before. People of color here in the U.S. have been repeatedly misperceived and mistreated through filters of ignorance and arrogance. We should not perpetrate the same kind of mistake on the people in the Middle East. □



The following text was inadvertently omitted from the Social Justice SPAKA statement, passed at Estes Park last summer, which was sent to Green Letter for printing in the Winter 1990 issue. We print this portion for your records. All the SPAKAs are currently in the process of being edited for voice, style and redundancies.

Social Justice B

Children

Advocate respect for children's rights and needs in the decisions that affect their lives and well being, without unnecessary state and community intervention;

Adoption of UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, where it is consistent with the "Ten Key Values."

Gender Justice

Creation, funding and institution of enabling zoning legislation for diverse options for childcare and living situations;

Paid maternity/paternity leaves with the option of extended unpaid leave;

Leave for the care of significant partners, children or other family members;

Elimination of sexual harassment in the workplace and development of public processes and follow-up procedures to address complaints;

Recognition and punishment of marital rape by all states;

Funding for creation of ongoing community support systems to break the "cycle of violence" that often surrounds so much of family life;

Support for the right of females and males to information regarding birth control, including family planning methods;

Support for education concerning the ramifications to females of controlling their fertility;

Support the ready availability of birth control methods for both males and females regardless of the ability to pay;

Encourage an environment where every pregnancy is a wanted pregnancy;

Support for the rights of women of all ages to full reproductive freedom to determine the degree of technological intervention, including abortion, that they deem appropriate for their own care and protection;

Support for education for both males and females on sexuality, birth control, child development and responsible parenting;

Support for reforming adoption practices to make it more acceptable to give up a child for adoption;

Reform of adoption policies so that children are not bought and sold, and so that qualified persons are not excluded on the basis of income level, sexual orientation, marital status, or race.

Gender Exploitive Advertisements

Recognize the destructive use of gender stereotyping by advertisers;

Educate advertisers and society on the damaging use of gender stereotyping;

Men

Support and encouragement for "Changing men's/men's movement" activities;

Encourage men and women to relate in peaceful, cooperative and life-enhancing ways.

Homosexual and Bisexual Rights

Affirm the beneficial contributions of gay, lesbian and bisexual people to society and in building our movement;

Regard heterosexism (the cultural belief that the only legitimate form of sexual expression is between men and women) as a violation of human rights and dignity;

Support and encourage the rights of gay, lesbian and bisexual people in housing, jobs, benefits, child custody and all areas of life;

Support education in schools on sexuality and sexual orientation;

Support the legal recognition of gay and lesbian relationships;

Repeal all laws which devalue and criminalize lesbian and gay relationships;

Support, protect people living with HIV, ARC and

AIDS;

Increase funding for research and development for prevention and treatment of AIDS;

Increase educational efforts on AIDS and prevention.

Call to Action

Greens should become involved with community-based struggles on the community's own terms;

Greens should initiate processes for uprooting racism on the local level.

End Notes

We did not have sufficient time to address the following:

The section under International Responsibility stating "Withdrawal of military personnel and weapons in all areas outside our borders."

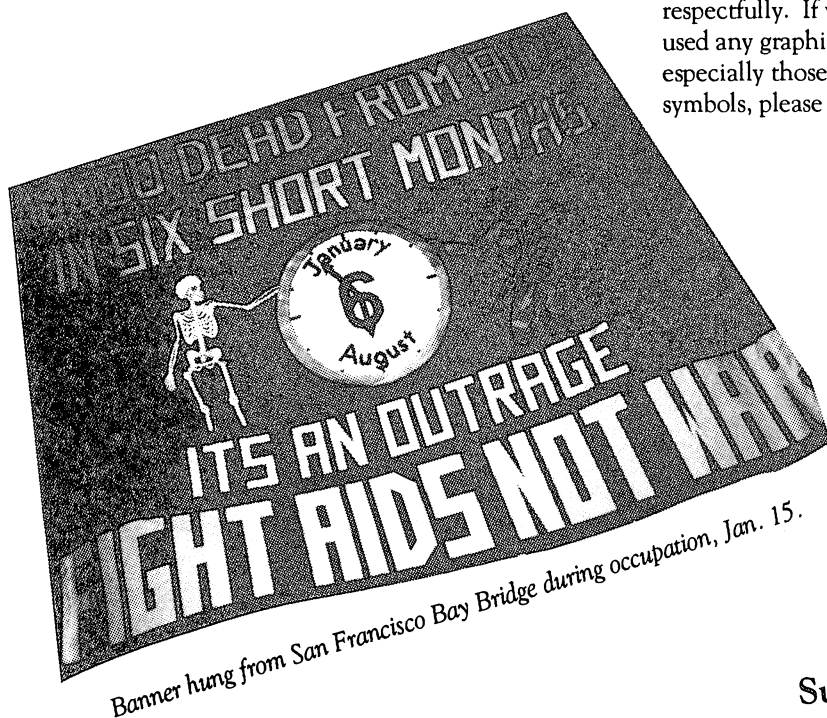
We also recognize the need to address the rights of differently-abled people.

Inside Cover photo: Octavia Morgan

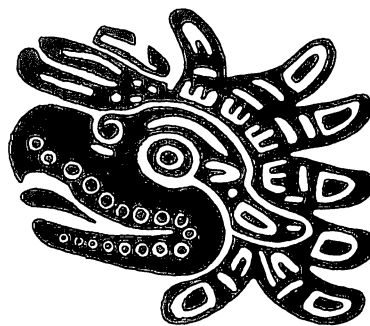
p.8 Keith Holmes; p.10-11 Dept of "Defense," from PEG Paper; p.12 *Handbuch Zur Verweiger-Ungskampagne*; p.13 upper, Movement Towards a New America; p.13 lower, *Handbuch Zur V-U*; p.14 lower, ditto; p.15 upper, Movement Towards a New America; p.17, *CALC Report*; p.22, The Workbook; p.23, NAMES Project/Marcel Miranda III; p.25, PANNA Alert; p.26, Jose Guadalupe Posada; p.27, Ernst Barlach, 1919; p.28, Alfred Kubin, 1919; p.29, *Ancient Mexico*, courtesy Dover Press; p.33, Paul D. Schneider; p.34, thanks to San Diego Greens; p.36, Margo Adair; p.37, Maxime Lalanne, c.1870; p.38, Felix Bracquemond, 1868; p.39, John Taylor Arms, 1916; p.40, *Collective Networker*; p.41, Gino Alvarez; 43, Adolphe Appian, 1882; p.44, Felix Bracquemond, 1868; p.45, *Intentional Community Directory*; p.45 photo, Paul D. Schneider; p.48 D.B. Perry; p.50 quill, Nancy Adair; p.50-51 lizards, *Ancient Mexico*; p.57, Global Exchange; Hodge-Podge Page, Octavia Morgan

Become a Green!
Members of the Green Committees of Correspondence receive Green Letter with their memberships. The GCoC Clearinghouse performs a vital function for Green activity and the exchange of Green information. It is always hampered by insufficient funds. You can help the Greens with our work by joining the GCoC. Annual membership is \$25. Contact the Clearinghouse.

(We have tried to use graphics respectfully. If you believe we have used any graphics inappropriately, especially those rooted in religious symbols, please let us know. —GL)



Hodge-Podge Page



Submissions

We welcome unsolicited submissions of art, poetry, articles and ideas. We are always caught in the bind of being absolutely dependent on your submissions and never being able to print everything we get. We extend both our appreciation for all we get and our apologies to those of you whose work we have been unable to use—please understand when we don't get back to you personally.

If possible, please send articles on computer disk along with two hard copies. Preferred format is on Macintosh 3.5" disks, Microsoft Word, MacWrite, WordPerfect, WriteNow or text only. We can also accept MS-DOS formats, either 3.5" or 5.25" disks, including WordPerfect 5.0 or 4.2, Microsoft Word, XYWrite III, Multimate, Wordstar and ASCII.

Special thanks for help on this issue to:
Weinberg, Eric Odell, Beth Brown
Lynn, Sunshine Appleby, Rick Whaley, Bill
Stephanie, Karl G. Erb, Bill Hall, Kathryn
Roberto Mendoza, Helen Rosewitz,

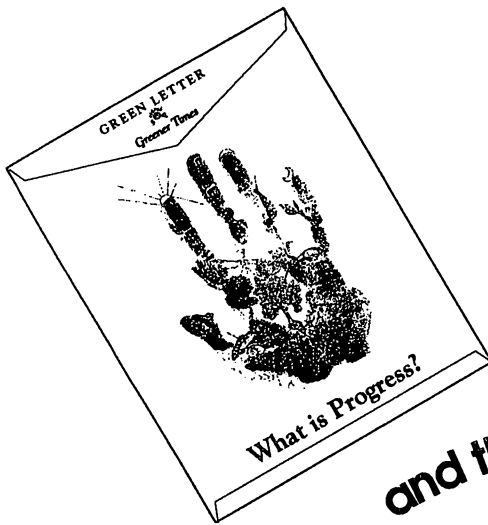


About Green Letter Production

Green Letter is a highly labor-intensive labor of love. As the Green Movement grows, producing the paper requires ever greater time and resources. Just sifting through our mail and keeping up with Green news is a major task. We are a volunteer effort, and income is almost entirely devoted to much-needed equipment, supplies, and expenses. The eight GL Collective members put in about 1000 hours per issue, over 80 hours per week, not counting the help we get from others. To meet the demands of GL, collective members need to be able to free up time we spend making a living. We can no longer depend solely on volunteer labor. We also need to raise funds to purchase our own copier and fax. To make a long story short—we absolutely need your financial support to sustain Green Letter. Thanks.

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If you would like more information about the Green movement and Green activity in your area, please contact the Green Committees of Correspondence Clearinghouse.
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